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Near East/South Asia Report

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27 March 1985

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EGYPT

MENA REPORTS ON MUBARAK NEW YORK TIMES INTERVIEW

NC251633 Cario MENA in Arabic 1600 GMT 25 Feb 85

[Text] Washington, 25 Feb (MENA)—President Muhammad Husni Mubarak has called on the administration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan to invite Israel and the members of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to visit the United States with the aim of laying down a basis for holding direct peace talks.

In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES, published today, President Mubarak said that he would like to host such a meeting in Cairo or to attend a similar meeting in any place that met with the approval of all parties concerned. President Mubarak added: We are prepared to give assistance in this regard.

President Husni Mubarak said that Israel's decision to withdraw from Lebanon was extremely encouraging. However, President Mubarak reiterated his stand to the effect that further progress should be made before Egypt decides to send its ambassador back to Israel. The ambassador was recalled following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

In the interview, President Mubarak commended the joint action framework for achieving peace in the Middle East, signed by King Husayn of Jordan and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat on 11 February. He described this framework as a very satisfactory achievement. He emphasized that the cooperation agreement is only a first step. President Mubarak said: We cannot attain any solution by just one step.

President Mubarak said that the cooperation agreement between Jordan and the PLO means that the PLO accepts UN Resolution 242, which calls for the return of the land occupied by Israel in exchange for peace.

President Muhammad Husni Mubarak urged the United States to ignore the conflicting statements made by PLO officials regarding this resolution. He added that the United States has refused to recognize the PLO unless it accepts Resolution 242 and recognizes Israel's right to exist.

President Mubarak noted that the points recorded on paper represent a step forward. He is referring here to the agreement between Jordan and the PLO. The president said: Let us focus on the agreement and not on the statements being made by the various [PLO] groups.

President Mubarak said that the recent statements by Shamir and Sharon do not help the peace question at all. The president particularly criticized their recent statements on Tabah. It is a very important matter with respect to Egyptian national interests and Egyptian public opinion, he said, that Israel return Tabah to Egyptian sovereignty.

President Mubarak stated that he will present his views on this and other issues during his forthcoming visit to Washington, which is due to begin on 8 March. President Mubarak pointed out that during his visit to Washington he will also ask the U.S. Administration to reduce the rate of interest which Egypt pays for its military debts since this rate, which was negotiated several years ago, is very high in relation to current rates.

Asked whether an envoy met with Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres in Romania and whether he will send another envoy for a second meeting with the Israeli prime minister, President Mubarak said: I have an envoy who met with Peres in Romania, and today I will send another envoy, namely Dr Usamah al-Baz, to meet with him.

Asked what Dr al-Baz will convey to the Israeli prime minister, the president said: In this message we discuss current events in the Middle East, the future of our relations, and what we can possibly do for the peace process.

Asked whether he was urging Israel to join preliminary discussions, President Mubarak said: I believe that it is still too early to discuss this point. Let us begin step by step for we do not want to leap to hasty conclusions. Let us begin with arranging a meeting between the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation and the United States in any place agreed upon and then we will proceed to another point.

Asked what was the most important and most significant point in the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, the president said: All the points are greatly significant.

Asked how he describes the importance of this agreement, President Mubarak said: We can say that the PLO's approval on all the UN resolutions is a very good and significant element for future negotiations regarding the Middle East problem.

[Cairo MENA in Arabic at 2130 GMT on 25 February substituted the following passage for the final five paragraphs of the report: "THE NEW YORK TIMES concludes by saying that during the interview, the Egyptian president outlined several points concerning recently published reports about political tension between the United States and the Sudan, which he described as exaggerated. The president said that he urged President Reagan not to

freeze U.S. aid to Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri. President Mubarak also denied reports that Egypt has withdrawn an air defense unit from the Sudan in an attempt to persuade President Numayri to change his policy. He said that there was a group composed of 25 technicians in the Sudan to assist Khartoum in modernizing its air defense and that this group had returned to Egypt after completing its mission.

President Mubarak said that Libyan leader Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi had offered \$5 billion to Egypt if it gave up the Camp David peace agreements signed with Israel in 1978. The president said: I informed Colonel al-Qadhdhafi that Egypt cannot do this. While pointing his finger toward his guests to express his anger, he added that Egypt was not Libya.

President Mubarak said that he will encourage the United States to give up its request for Cuban forces to withdraw from Angola as a condition for establishing a settlement in southwest Africa, known as Namibia.

He also expressed his doubts about the possibility of convincing Syria to carry out a constructive role in the Middle East peace process."]

CSO: 4500/56

EGYPT

MINISTER PRESENTS LATEST HOUSING DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 22 Feb 85 pp 66, 67

[Interview with Eng Muhsin Sidqi, Minister of Housing, by Faruq Abazah: "We Need 3.6 Million Housing Units at an Investment of 4 Billion Pounds by 2000"]

[Text] The shortage of building materials, foremost among them brick and iron; the sufferings of permit holders as a result of slowness, complexities and the red tape in obtaining permits; the role of the cooperative housing societies, some of which have been transformed into instruments of illicit gain, skilled at procrastinating and delaying; the chaos in the contracting sector; the failure to acquire model housing whose costs can be borne by people with limited incomes; the exploitation by some housing companies of people who submit applications to them to buy booklets of blueprints -- many are the issues which I presented to Eng Muhsin Sidqi, minister of housing, during my long conversation with him.

[Question] Your excellency the minister, the problem of housing still heads the list of our national issues. What efforts have been taken to solve it? What strategy is at hand for carrying these solutions out?

[Answer] We are in fact not starting to deal with the housing issue from a vacuum. In our possession are important studies to which the Ministry of Housing has contributed, along with specialized centers, and it has reached a conclusion, which is that this problem arose as the result of an accumulation of factors which go back a quarter century, as a consequence of priorities, successive wars and other national objectives, in addition to the increase in the population and the collapses which dwellings in old sections have sustained. When we realize that the average annual increase is 1 million people and the average number of people in a family is five, that means that we will need 200,000 housing units per year.

The problem appears at its most intense in Greater Cairo, Alexandria and some other governorates. Twenty-five percent of Egypt's population is in Greater Cairo alone, in an area which has not expanded since the fifties, and 45 percent of the scope of the housing problem is concentrated in Cairo alone. Even in rural areas people have started to build their dwellings of

red brick, cement and iron, and encroachments are being made onto farmland to cope with the crisis. The dimensions of the problem have manifested themselves in the need to build 3.6 million housing units by 2000. This means that we will need investments of more than 40 billion pounds which it is not possible for the government to arrange; rather, the government will help facilitate housing construction for people who are not affluent and prepare the necessary land for construction. The private sector ought to have had an active role in the housing area. As far as the 5-year plan goes, we have set our requirements at 800,000 units; the first year's quota is 130,000 units, that of the second, 150,000, that of the third, 160,000, and then the figure rises to 180,000 in the last 2 years. In the second plan that will increase by 60,000 units until the end of this century. As a result of this conception, we will cover the shortage and will get the government to contribute at a rate of 15 to 20 percent, in accordance with the investments available, in addition to the cooperative housing and loans on easy terms subsidized by low rates of interest paid off over long terms. The private sector will contribute the rest, which is two types, intermediate and above-intermediate [housing]. The intermediate type accounts for 45 percent, the above-intermediate for 15 percent, and luxury housing will account for 5 percent at the most. As a result of practical experience over the past 2 years, it has become apparent that the private sector is refraining from investing in the area of intermediate housing for reasons we will address ourselves to and has started to grow in the direction of deeding out apartments and luxury housing because of the high prices of land, the ratio of whose value per unit of luxury housing has come to 100 percent or more. The price of a square meter on the Corniche al-Nil has come to 2,000 pounds per meter and from 100 to 120 pounds in other areas, and the price of land now represents a heavy part of the price of the unit. Therefore the exploitation of unprepared lands through what we call spontaneous housing has begun. The first problem is the need to provide land and we must think of the issue of having new land at reasonable prices for low-cost and intermediate housing. We have suspended luxury housing; investment in that has become a waste of money and effort. We have started seeking out new lands in desert areas; an example is our interest in the ring road around Cairo. We have sent guidelines to the governors to use the old areas and those that have been demolished for use as construction areas. As far as the ring road around Cairo goes, a decree has been issued by the committee on policies to make a new push in order to build up the eastern segment of it and link it up around Cairo so that it will draw heavy transportation out of the city and link up the Bilbays desert road, the al-Isma'iliyah desert road, the Suez desert road and the al-Qutamiyah road to the Hilwan expressway and cross over the Nile to the Governorate of Giza, intersecting Pyramid Road and the extension of 26 July avenue, then proceed over Warraq al-'Arab Island. Since the cost of this project is high and the construction period is long, we have started with a segment whose construction will not be subjected to problems. That is the axis as a construction development strip in Bilbays-al-Isma'iliyah-Suez-al-Qutamiyah-al-Fayyum. This road will include small housing communities which will include different sorts of economic and industrial activities, within the limits of 10,000 housing units, sources of water will be arranged for these communities on their lands, and thus we will have planted new residential areas which do not have service requirements. We have started with two experiments, a very low-cost project which we have called urgent housing on

the al-Qutamiyah road, which contains 5,000 urgent housing units, which the Governorate of Cairo will distribute, and we also have the objective of re-planning the old sections in Cairo Governorate as urban planning, after we prepare alternate housing places for the people who occupy them, for instance the al-Batiniyah section, which has 10,000 units. However, I am certain that the people who will accept housing in the alternate communities will not exceed 2,000; the rest will be able to live in deeded apartments in the al-Zamalik section. There also is a project to house young people. We have chosen another residential section along the al-Isma'iliyah road, in order to prepare new housing communities for citizens, estimated at about 10,000 units supplied with facilities, subdivided then distributed among union youths along with journalists, businessmen and judges.

Alongside these efforts which have been made, I must refer to the suspension of the current of migration to Cairo. All the efforts we make will be swallowed up by the population increase, especially since with the increase in the flow of migration to Cairo, the villages have started to suffer from a severe shortage in agricultural labor. The rate of growth in our capital is 4.6 [percent] while the natural rate must not exceed 2.3. The solution is to look for new lands in the desert areas, with facilities and a reasonable land price.

[Question] In a few months, application of the law prohibiting the operation of red brick kilns will start. In addition there has been a [price] rise in building materials, including reinforcement iron. How can we encourage construction activity when it is difficult to obtain these?

[Answer] If we talk about investment in the area of housing, we must also talk about means for encouraging investors. The lack of availability of construction materials has an effect on receptivity to this sort of investment. Let us take cement as an example. At the beginning of the present plan, cement production did not exceed 3 million tons a year and some of the furnaces producing it started production in 1929 and have ended their hypothetical life; it has not been logical that we should depend to a large extent on importing a raw material whose industry just consists of limestone and clay. We planned to raise the volume of production in order to do away with imports and found that our requirements in 1983-84 would come to 12 million tons, of which we were producing 3 million tons, importing the rest through the government or the private sector. At times the government cannot provide the allocations for imports, and the private sector contributes, since it has greater freedom. Work began in the new factories, and we hope that we will be able to raise our production at the end of the plan, 1986-87, to 14 million tons, for an increase of 11 million. However, that will not keep requirements from increasing by 8 percent. For example, in the case of some of these factories, they have started to raise production to 4.5 million tons instead of 3 million, and there are plants being tested which will be put into production in the next 6 months, including the Hilwan plant, the National Company plant, the al-Qutamiyah plant and the Asyut plant. In Alexandria, there are two plants under construction. At the same time, the Ministry of Housing has started to make contracts with the agreement countries to import cement through a barter exchange, which will give the government the upper hand in controlling the cement market. Therefore, we have relaxed

the price of cement in the market and have set that at 52 pounds per ton. In addition to that, we have unified the price among the public and private sector companies and have opened the door to anyone who wants to invest so that he will be dealt with in the same manner.

As far as reinforcement iron goes, our needs for that in 1983-84 were 1.3 million tons, and our production of it does not exceed 240,000 tons, that is, the equivalent of 20 percent of our consumption requirements. When bottlenecks appeared, we reached agreement with Czechoslovakia to import 260,000 tons and East Germany 100,000 tons, and we contracted for 750,000 tons with Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Our local production is close to 240,000 tons. With the improvement in prices and equal treatment for public and private sector products with regard to the price of energy and expansions in the plants which the policy board has given agreement to, and with production in the al-Dukhaylah plant rising from 700,000 to 1.1 million tons, production will thereby equal consumption by the middle of the second 5-year plan. Starting this year, 70 or 75 percent of our reinforcement iron requirements will be provided from the production of our plants. We have set a unified price for iron in order that that might cover production losses as far as local companies go and realize a reasonable investment return as far as the private sector goes. The minister of industry has asked me to keep the iron production centers separate from distribution in order to clear them of increased production in terms of quantity and "quality" alone, and I have determined that the cement distribution centers will take charge of distributing the iron. These centers are situated in Alexandria, Asyut, al-Mansurah, al-Isma'iliyah and Aswan.

As far as bricks go, the continued production of red bricks by stripping off farmland is considered a crime which must be stopped, now that 30,000 feddans of farmland have been stripped off per year. We ought to have thought of an alternative and made a tally of our requirements for brick. That has a relationship to the volume of iron and cement as well. We consume from 6 to 7 billion red bricks a year, and our production from brick alternative plants, be they walls, clay or cement, comes to 20 billion bricks. The operation of red brick kilns will stop next 11 August. In reality, the owners of these kilns have declined to change their production, basing themselves on a fallacious principle, which is that the government will be forced to yield to them and continue red brick production because there are no alternatives. However, plants under construction for alternatives to brick will produce 2.55 billion bricks, although at a cost of 135 pounds per ton of heavy fuel oil, while that costs the owners of red brick plants 7.5 pounds. We have presented a study to the policy committee stipulating the need to deal with factories of alternatives to red brick on the basis of a unified price of 32 pounds per ton of heavy fuel oil, and severe competition has begun to take place. We have started to import real machinery to produce cement brick which will be operating in the course of this year, in addition to production units which will be attached to the cement plants, and it will be in the public sector plants' ability to meet our requirements of cement brick, except for a billion units, which the private sector will contribute. The armed forces will meet their requirements by using their equipment. The Ministry of Agriculture has sent its notice to the owners of red brick kilns to develop these kilns and, after the specified period ends, the ministry

will have the right to convert the land used for kilns to farmland while compelling its owners to move the soil that has been stripped off them. One should bear in mind that there are instructions to provide all facilities for the owners of the kilns by developing them and that they have the right to obtain cash loans from the Development Bank and facilitate their acquisition of the required permits. This encouragement will take place on the basis of their seniority in carrying out new production because of their prior experience, the technical labor and transportation capability they possess and the availability of financing, and clay quarries belonging to the ministry will be opened to obtain their requirements. In addition, their needs for cement will be covered.

We have given our companies notice that with the beginning of this year we will start to use alternatives. In the specifications of government buildings belonging to the ministries and governments, the requirement that they be built with red brick has been eliminated, and contractors will be encouraged not to use this brick. As to the answer to the question bearing on the specifications and solidity of cement brick, I can answer that with another question: are there any countries, among those that are advanced in terms of construction, which use red brick made from Nile silt? Clay brick has insulation from heat, firmness and a greater degree of tolerance. As regards 40 millimeter and 60 millimeter glass, that is being produced locally except for the plate glass required for buildings, and the policy board has given agreement to the establishment of a factory to produce that in 10 Ramadan City to produce 6.5 million square meters a year. That will cover our requirements of this sort of glass, which come to 4.1 million meters. As for wood, that is available.

[Question] Obtaining building permits has become one of the complicated processes that anyone who wants to obtain a permit suffers from. What facilities do you recommend in this regard?

[Answer] We presented this issue to the localities, regardless of whether the permits were for government facilities or the private sector. In reality there are some obstacles which must be eliminated in this regard. We have come up with means for facilitating matters for people applying for permits, which is for permit owners to submit a folio containing all the documents required of them at a single window so that the person who works there will specify a specific date for them on which they are to receive the permit after reviewing the papers. With regard to government sector permits, the body which has presented them will have the right to start construction if a specific period has passed without its receiving a permit.

[Question] Is it possible to come up with a style for Egyptian housing with special specifications which can be put to general use, especially in the case of people with limited incomes?

[Answer] With the beginning of the rise in the standard of living after the fifties and sixties, when housing was esthetic in form and nature, people began to turn to choosing flat buildings which were constructed rapidly, while avoiding beautiful features. This saves time but with the continuation of the problem there now are no restrictions on the styles of buildings or

sections. We are now trying to deal with this situation and when we study housing laws we will discuss this in order to arrive at a suitable style, especially since it has been proved that housing of one or more bedrooms with common bathrooms is not suitable and we must take the religious and moral aspect into consideration and try to create housing which is low cost but at the same time has solidity. This is what we are carrying out in the youth communities and the al-Qutamiyah project.

[Question] What about the relationship between landlords and tenants?

[Answer] We are all encouraging the private investment sector. The problem is in the comparison of the investor's return. Real estate investment differs from commercial and industrial investment. We must encourage investment in the housing area as much as possible, for instance by helping to lower the price of land and provide building materials and a reasonable price. The relationship between landlord and tenant is now unequal. For example, how can we ask the owners of buildings in the center of Cairo whose apartments are dealt with at a few pounds per apartment to help repair utilities and elevators?

[Question] The issue of cooperative housing societies and the violations some of them have committed, which have led to their dissolution, has been raised. How can surveillance over their activities be tightened up?

[Answer] There are 1,700 cooperative housing societies in addition to the activity of individuals. These societies are included in the Cooperative Housing Federation and are supervised by the Construction Cooperative Authority, which has the right of financial and administrative supervision over them. Aberrance has arisen in some of them through speculation in the members' money, and it is not in the power of the Construction Cooperative Authority to tighten up financial surveillance over them. When the authority dismisses the board of directors of a society that has behaved aberrantly, the Cooperative Federation sometimes refuses to carry out this measure. The dissolved board usually returns by election. We are intending to review the laws bearing on construction cooperatives in order to tighten up financial and administrative supervision so that control will not be central but rather will go down to supervision by the governorates and protection will be achieved for beneficiaries through the banks.

[Question] Some public sector housing companies have been assiduously announcing the deeding out of housing, then have imposed a fee on everyone who presents himself to make a reservation, which he is supposed to pay for a subscription form or specification booklet. They get thousands of pounds knowing full well that the number of people applying is many times the number of apartments offered. Isn't that to be considered a sort of fraud?

[Answer] I agree with you on this. I have issued my instructions that these sums are to be returned to all the people who cannot obtain apartments in the projects that have been announced.

[Question] When will the contractors' sector be organized, especially with the repeated collapse of new buildings and the facilitation of entry into

this occupation although particular specifications are not set out for the people engaged in it?

[Answer] In Cairo alone there are 30,000 contractors, including 5,000 working in the undertaker's profession. They have obtained permits to build mausoleums and have exploited this permit to enter the field of contracting. There is a draft law before the People's Assembly to regulate the contractors' occupation and form a special federation for contractors which will break their specialization down into categories and remove people who do not belong in it.

Finally, we should realize that Eng Muhsin Sidqi, minister of housing, began his work in the Corps of Engineers. He specialized in fortifications and mines. After that, he assumed management of readymade buildings in the armed forces and contributed great efforts to the construction of military installations, then the armed forces' housing project, after he assumed responsibility for the central major projects agency in the armed forces.

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CSO: 4504/244

EGYPT

PREMIER APPEALS FOR STREAMLINING OF INDUSTRIAL PROCEDURES

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 24 Feb 85 p-9

[Article by Iman Mustafa and Ra'fat Amin: "The Prime Minister at the Inauguration of the Conference of Chambers of Commerce and Industry: Periodic Meetings between Ministers and Businessmen"]

[Text] Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, the prime minister, has asserted the government's commitment to protect the sector of businessmen and all organizations and projects in Egypt and support all efforts in the area of investment, whatever the nationality of the investor might be. He underlined the protection of private and public property and also stressed the government's commitment to dialogue concerning decrees that are issued and affect the course of projects, on grounds that they are decrees made by man and involve mistakes and valid points.

He also proclaimed the government's concern not to apply any law or decree retroactively and to review those that have been issued in the recent period in order to correct interpretations that may have arisen that trespass against the government's commitment for the non-retroactivity of laws and decrees as a legal and constitutional principle which we are concerned about.

The prime minister had witnessed the opening session of the fourth annual conference of chambers of commerce and industry organized by the secretariat of commercial and industrial activity in the National Democratic Party and a large number of ministers, businessmen and representatives of the Federation of Industries and the Federation of Chambers of Commerce.

The prime minister referred to the government's desire to hold a dialogue with businessmen in various areas of specialization and speak with them frankly concerning all restrictions and limitations which might affect work organizations. He added, "We hope that this frank talk will result in moving production forward."

Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali asserted "The government hopes, through this frank talk, that everyone will take part in planning and thinking of interacting with these restrictions, especially since our foreign and local currency

resources are less than what the various productive sectors require, which makes it inevitable that we all set out solutions which will enable us to use these resources in accordance with the priorities the interests of the nation require. These solutions might impose some tentative burdens on us, and we must bear them with full conviction for the sake of the nation."

The prime minister declared that the government was anxious to protect everyone producing on the territory of Egypt and everyone who has a project that is established on the territory of Egypt, whatever his nationality might be, and that the investor would receive the same good publicity, whether he is from the public or private sector. This has been attended to in the guidance committees in the way of protection for local producers.

He added that the government, represented by its cabinet, welcomes every addition to citizens' income, as long as that comes about in an honorable way, through legitimate earning, and realizes an increase in production.

In his statement, the prime minister emphasized that no limits or restrictions would be set on increases in workers' wages, as long as they were linked to increases in production.

He declared that the government intended to take a number of measures based on scientific planning in the coming days which would have the effect of using our resources in the best possible way, in the following areas:

Tabulating natural resources, most important of which is arable land, and encouraging people who are able to farm to reclaim land in a manner which will lead to non-reliance on imports and the attainment of self-sufficiency.

Encouraging the uses of scientific research to seek raw materials resources and evaluate their reserves and encouragement of their use in industrial projects.

Providing the production sector's needs for energy of various types, especially since the power plants which have recently been opened have provided Egypt with power equal to what it had over the past 70 years.

Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali declared that the government was currently reviewing the costs of lending to productive projects, especially in the construction stages, out of its awareness of the importance of making the construction period easier for investors, on condition, however, that the facilities do not lead to subsidization, because subsidies are just given to people who lack capability, not to those who are able.

He pointed out that the provision of skilled labor was essential for realizing the desired increase in production and therefore the government supported the construction of training centers at production sites.

He called on businessmen to support the government's efforts to prepare a national plan which would be carried out in areas and factories for building and operating vocational training centers.

This would be on condition that they opened their doors to students in schools and universities during summer vacations and to employees of government agencies who wanted to change their original jobs and professions. The government would take charge of providing the necessary money and expertise for that.

The prime minister concluded his statement by asserting that a start was being made in organizing meetings on a monthly basis between ministers and the organizations of private and public [sector] businessmen in order to discuss and study all obstacles which impeded modes of production and development activity, and that the government would commit itself to carrying out the conclusions and recommendations of these meetings.

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EGYPT

OIL INDUSTRY CHIEF DISCUSSES NEW PROJECTS

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 27 Feb 85 p 9

[Article by 'Adil Ibrahim: "Oil Industries Come to Upper Egypt for the First Time: The Asyut Oil Refinery Will Begin Production in 2 Years"]

[Text] Tomorrow Mr 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil, minister of petroleum and mineral resources, will discuss the fiscal year 1985-86 planning budget for the Asyut Oil Refining Company which was established last year to manage and operate the first oil refinery in Upper Egypt, where it will begin producing in 2 years. Thus, oil industries will come to Upper Egypt for the first time.

The minister of petroleum and mineral resources has determined that the operation of the Asyut refinery will start in 1987, so that it will be a center for refining and processing oil in Upper Egypt. In it, Suez blend crude oil will be refined which will be transmitted by pipeline across the Western Desert from Ra's Shuqayr to Asyut to provide the crude oil necessary for the refinery, which will cover the requirements of the Upper Egypt area for petroleum products. This refinery will become an industrial complex including storage tanks, a pipeline terminal station, a distribution center, a residential city for workers and other public facilities over an area of 1,000 feddans northwest of the city of Asyut, because of its central geographical location as far as the Upper Egypt market is concerned. Mr 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil, the minister of petroleum and mineral resources, had decided to establish this new company after appointing Eng Sa'id Abazah as its president. He is an expert in petroleum refining in Egypt, since he worked as general manager for technical affairs in the Cairo Oil Refining Company and before that was in charge of operations in the Suez Oil Processing Company.

At present Upper Egypt is supplied from Cairo. Therefore every drop of oil consumed anywhere in Upper Egypt travels a distance of 420 kilometers from the Red Sea fields to Cairo, then the additional distances from Cairo to sites of consumption. That is, a ton of products required in Aswan, for instance, is transported over distances of 1,320 kilometers in order to be refined then brought to the consumer in the form of products. While Upper Egypt's consumption of major petroleum products in the past 5 years was estimated at about 2 million tons, thought was given to erecting a refinery in Upper Egypt with an initial capacity of 2.5 million tons to be supplied by

oil directly from the fields of the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. That would result in savings amounting to 40 percent of the current volume of the transportation, reducing the burden on various means of transport in the form of barges, railways and trucks and realizing savings in the costs of transporting oil products to Upper Egypt, as well as diversifying sources of product supply and creating a new oil industry complex in Upper Egypt, in particular in the city of Asyut, which accounts for 36 percent of the consumption of Upper Egypt.

Tied to the construction of the Asyut refinery is the construction of pipelines to transport crude oil to the refinery and other lines to transport the various products of the refinery. At present the 360-kilometer Shuqayr-Asyut line is being constructed to transport crude oil from Ra's Shuqayr to the refinery in Asyut, and the 290-kilometer al-Tabin-Asyut line to transport products from the Asyut and al-Tabin plants to Bani Suwayf and al-Minya. Last year, the plan to transport heavy fuel oil from Musturud to al-Tabin over a distance of 65 kilometers was carried out.

Mr 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil, minister of petroleum and mineral resources, started discussing the new oil refining and processing projects last Thursday during the meeting of the general assemblies of the al-'Amiriyah Oil Refining Company, al-Nasr Oil Refining Company in Suez and the Cairo Oil Refining Company. The biggest refinery in Egypt is being built in Suez; belonging to the al-Nasr Oil Company, its total capacity will come to 5.6 million tons a year. A new distillation unit is being added to the Suez Oil Processing Company plant with a capacity of 2 million tons a year along with a complex to improve naphtha in the al-Nasr Oil Company in al-'Amiriyah, to produce upgraded gasoline, and a plant for alkylbenzene used in the detergent industry with a capacity of 40,000 tons a year is being put into operation.

Last year a number of new projects to refine and process petroleum were inaugurated and put into operation, including the coking complex in the Suez Oil Processing Company in Suez to coke heavy fuel oil to produce gasoline, middle distillates, coke and sulphur, a gas recovery unit in the Alexandria Oil Company to produce 200 tons of bottled butane per day, a third distillation unit in the Cairo Oil Refining Company in Musturud with a capacity of 2 million tons a year, a gas recovery unit for the third unit in the Cairo Oil Refining Company in Musturud to increase bottled butane production 200 tons a day, and the Firan distillation unit in the Abu Rudays area with a capacity of 500,000 tons a year to meet the needs of the Sinai area for certain petroleum products. Connected to the erection of new oil refining units is the construction of a number of pipelines to transport crude oil and oil products to them and vice versa, since this year a products line is being constructed from the refineries in al-Maks to Kafr al-Dawwar, then Damanhur, to supply the Damanhur electricity plant with its requirements of heavy fuel needed for fuel, along with the project to link the oil refineries in Alexandria and Suez with 'Ayn al-Sukhnah and Sidi Karir to transport the necessary crude to them via the Sumed line, in order to save the expenses of transportation by tanker via the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, and the completion of the al-Isma'iliyah-Port Said products line to cover local consumption and supply ships with the oil products they need.

When the Asyut and Suez refineries start operating in the next 2 years, Egypt will have six refining areas, Suez, Alexandria, Cairo, Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt and Sinai, thereby resulting in the coverage of requirements of local consumption in all governorates and the provision of surplus refining capacity of about 20 percent of total available capacity, as part of an integrated plan aimed at benefiting from international technological developments in the treatment of crude oil and middle distillates in order to improve oil product specifications and increase the proportion of middle distillates, in addition to expansion as well in the construction of pipeline systems to connect crude oil production locations to refineries in the various consumption areas.

It is well known that the first oil refinery in Egypt was established in 1922 when the Royal Oil Refinery was constructed in Suez to refine royalty crude. At that time the oil industry in Egypt was subject to the dominance of foreign companies, especially the British ones, up to the early fifties, when the Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields Company dominated exploration and production activities almost completely, owning 90 percent of all the refineries in Egypt and, with some American oil companies, dominating local distribution operations with a 97 percent share, while the remaining share was held by the Cooperative Oil Society established in 1934 in unequal competition with the foreign marketing companies, which totally dominated the oil market in Egypt. The government, at the beginning of the July 1952 revolution, increased distillation capacity in the government refinery in Suez from 300,000 to 1.3 million tons, and in 1957 a small plant was opened in Alexandria with a capacity of 250,000 tons to bring about a geographical distribution in the petroleum refining industry, so that Alexandria would be an outlet for crude oil imports and refining. Its capacity was increased to 1 million tons a year then local refining capacity expanded from 2.5 million tons in 1952 to 4.7 million tons in 1959, and the gap between production and consumption narrowed. However, self-sufficiency was not realized, since there was a surplus of gasoline, naphtha, bottled butane, heavy fuel oil and asphalt, which had to be exported, while there was a great deficit in kerosene, distillates and diesel, which had to be imported. Through the Petroleum Authority, the government in the period between 1959 and 1972 began to subsidize Egyptian refining capacity in order to cope with local consumption and the deficit in certain products in order to avoid the threat of a bottleneck in cases of emergency, until Egyptian refining capacity rose to about 7.5 million tons, then doubled in the past 10 years, reaching 18.5 million tons last year, to cover the requirements of local consumption, realizing great savings in imports.

For about 30 years, sites for refinery areas were located only in Suez, then in the late fifties Alexandria, whose share came to about 20 percent. During this period emphasis was placed on the construction of refining capacity in the coastal areas because of their proximity to the production of crude oil and because the percentage of gasoline produced rose to the equivalent of four times its rate of consumption, which required that it be exported, since the volume of local gasoline consumption did not exceed 250,000 tons in the fifties in comparison with the current volume of consumption, which comes to 1.9 million tons a year. After the 1967 war, reliance on the refineries in Alexandria increased, rising to 75 percent after the destruction

visited upon the Suez refineries. The current refining ratio comes to 38 percent in Alexandria, 28 percent in Suez, 27 percent in Cairo, 5 percent in Tanta and 2 percent in Sinai. After the construction of the new Asyut and Suez refineries, that will then be broken down into 38 percent in Suez, 28 percent in Alexandria, 20 percent in Cairo, 8 percent in Asyut, 4 percent in Tanta and 3 percent in Sinai.

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EGYPT

PERSONALITIES IN DEBATE OVER ISLAMIC LAW EXPRESS VIEWS ON ISSUE

Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 20 Feb 85 p 4

[Interview with several Islamic leaders by 'Abd-al-Hasib al-Khanani: "Real Situation in People's Assembly and in New Wafd Party"]

[Text] Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il's decision to freeze his membership in the Wafd Party has been tantamount to an explosion whose reverberations still echo inside and outside the party, especially since the decision is connected with the party's view of the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a in Egypt. With the rapid succession of events, the Wafd Party announced its acceptance of Shaykh Salah's resignation even though the shaykh has not resigned.

All these developments arouse numerous questions in the Islamic circle regarding the parties to the issue, namely Shaykh Salah, the Muslim Brotherhood and Siraj-al-Din in the Wafd Party and Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub in the People's Assembly.

The first question is: what does the opposition's agreement with the government to postpone discussing the Shari'a issue mean? What does the silence of the Muslim Brotherhood members toward what Shaykh Salah has done in the Wafd Party on the one hand and in the People's Assembly on the other hand signify? I have posed question after question in the hope of finding satisfactory answers, especially in this climate which some people are trying to exploit against the first side [presumably pro-Shari'a side] in the issue and to distort this side's image. I took these questions and posed them with utter objectivity and neutrality and here are the answers offered by some sides:

[Question] What does the opposition's agreement with the government to postpone discussing the Shari'a until the beginning of May mean, considering that this is the first time such a thing has happened?

[Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il] I expect matters to go beyond the agreement not to bring up the Islamic Sharia issue by the majority or the opposition until the beginning of May. But is it the right of the People's Assembly speaker to be a party to the debate issue while on the podium? Is he entitled to trample the bylaws and to confiscate my right to comment on him when he deals with my position and mentions my name? Is the minister of state for the People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs entitled to intervene in the name of the government to set a date for discussing an issue that does not pertain to the question? It is the wish of the Assembly and of its members to bring

up the Shari'a issue in preparation for making a resolution to push the bills that are in the hands of the Assembly's deputy speaker into the legislative current.

It is well known that when a People's Assembly member becomes a cabinet minister, he freezes his watchdog role to face his responsibility as a member of the executive authority before the legislative authority. But what exists is the desire to talk transformed into a plan to obstruct what is sacred. Now that it has been established that bills are either buried or implemented by a decision made by the Assembly members, I have great hope in the members. Such bills do not become dispensable when buried by a majority decision because they derive their existence from the Koran and from the prophet's Sunna and it does not do such bills any good when they are enacted by a majority decision if they are in conflict with the Koran and the Sunna. But the People's Assembly speaker wants to discipline the colleagues for the role I have played when he interprets my struggle for the implementation of the Shari'a as a condemnation of the People's Assembly and an instigation of its members. I hold that my colleagues in the Assembly are above allowing such an endeavor to drive a wedge between me and them because I have nothing but utter esteem, appreciation, love for and pride in their friendship.

I Asked Assembly Speaker for Permission

[Question] You are accused of failing to attend most of the Assembly's sessions.

[Shaykh Abu Isma'il] This is not true. It seems that the Assembly speaker denies me my right intentionally, as proven by the fact that I submitted a query to the minister of justice on the torture incidents, noted in the request that I had asked for a permit to go abroad and pointed out my return date so that the minister may set the date for the discussion on the query to follow my return. But Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il exploited the situation and denounced my absence and the Assembly speaker failed to point out to him that I had obtained his permission to go abroad. The speaker owed me this much but he did not do it. I went to his office and censured both of them [speaker and Tawfiq] and they apologized. I was satisfied with the censure and apology but then he [presumably Tawfiq Isma'il] again referred to my absence without noting that I had permission and that I am entitled to this.

Run-around Process in Assembly

Answering a question on the People's Assembly speaker's insistence that there are no Islamic Shari'a bills, despite what AL-NUR had published, Shaykh Salah said: "I told the Assembly speaker that such a claim may be made procedurally because for the procedures to be complete, a bill must be presented by one or more Asssmbly members or be presented by the government. If an Assembly session ends and a new Assembly comes, the bill sponsor has to write the Assembly speaker in the first month of the parliamentary session requesting that the bill be considered extant. The Assembly speaker perhaps recalls that I visited him at his office when he first assumed the speakership of the Assembly and reminded him of the Shari'a issue. But he continued to refuse to

table the issue until he announced recently his agreement with the leader of the Wafdist opposition not to bring up this issue until the beginning of May. Had the Assembly speaker been prepared to open the debate in the first month of the session, we would have been able to make a resolution in the Assembly, since these bills are a part of the Assembly's legislative task. Next May will be the date for the first session, which will be the longest session in the Assembly's history. After this session, the Assembly will recess in preparation for a new session after which these bills will fall, even if the Assembly decides next May to push them into the legislative current because this will require a new measure. So why all this 'beating around the bush' and in whose interest is it? Is commenting on such a procedure tantamount to instigating the masses, considering that I was prevented from making the comment in the Assembly even though I am a member of this Assembly? Meanwhile, the Assembly speaker sits on the podium, his words reverberate in the hall through the 'microphones' and he forgets that we are the unshakable proponents of a creed and that tens of others have preceded him to his chair."

[Question] What is your comment on the published reports that Dr al-Mahjub, the Assembly speaker, asked the Assembly members if they were censured by the prime minister for their signing a request demanding a debate on the Shari'a issue and that the Assembly members answered in unison: No?

[Shaykh Abu Isma'il] I add these torture methods used by al-Mahjub to his refusal to discuss the Shari'a issue. I do not know how he can read at the beginning of every session God's words which say "work and God, His prophet and the faithful will see your work" and then deny these words. Al-Mahjub's maneuver can be exposed by a simple calculation. The number of members set by the by-laws to discuss this issue is 20 members. The number of members signing the request for a debate is 67 members and the number of members who have no knowledge of the matter is nearly 400 members who did not sign. Therefore, the prime minister did not gather them and it is natural that their response was not that of denial. Moreover, the so-called "national" press calls the demand for implementation of the Shari'a an act of oneupmanship, and I don't know how this press can accuse people's intentions in dealing with this issue. Besides, if Dr al-Mahjub wished to implement the Shari'a, he would have made the arrangements for the procedural steps and would have entrusted somebody to submit the bill concerning this issue to the Assembly in accordance with the bylaws and the constitution without allowing the procedures to obstruct the implementation of the Shari'a. But al-Mahjub rejects the Shari'a completely and he has admitted before a number of Assembly members that he has postponed the issue until May but that he sees no chance of its implementation before 20 years pass. If he wishes an investigation on this admission, then I am prepared.

Wafd Committing Political Suicide

[Question] What is your comment on Counselor Muntaz Nassar's statement in the People's Assembly that your demand for implementation of the Shari'a does not reflect the Wafd Party's opinion because the party has decided to accept your resignation?

[Answer] My response to this is that the Shari'a is not a matter of opinion but God's straight path. Besides, in demanding its implementation, I represent, in addition to my beliefs, the beliefs of millions who have brought us to the People's Assembly, including those in whose name brother Mumtaz Nassar speaks. Moreover, these statements by the leader of the Wafdist opposition are tantamount to political suicide by virtue of the Egyptian constitution and of the religious tendency of the Egyptian people and by virtue of the Wafd Party's program which was a foundation and which has now turned into chaff blowing in the wind. I never applaud in the People's Assembly or elsewhere but I have applauded strongly this political suicide so that those committing the suicide may be happy that they have reached this fate. I believe that the Wafd's arch-enemy could not hurt the Wafd as much as the Wafd hurt itself in the People's Assembly session in which the party exposed its true character. I believe that not even my most beloved ones or most loyal friends could raise me to the peak to which God elevated me in that session. It is enough for me that this is for the sake of God and for elevating His word. I am waiting for the Wafd Party's General Assembly to arbitrate my case against Siraj-al-Din, with the Wafd's principles as my argument.

Answering a question on the position of the Islamic wing and on what this wing's members have done vis-a-vis the suspension of his membership, Shaykh Salah said that it is more befitting that they answer this question. You ask them and I will wait for the answer.

No Disagreement over Implementation of Shari'a, But....

I then went to some Wafd members advocating the Shari'a. The opinion expressed by Muhammad al-Mismari was:

"There is no disagreement between us and Shaykh Salah over the need to apply the Shari'a and over the need for this matter to take its rightful course in the People's Assembly in accordance with the constitution and the bylaws, either through legislative proposals submitted by the members or through bills submitted by the government so that the Proposals Committee may refer them to the Assembly which refers them in turn to the legislative committees. The Assembly speaker explored the opinions of a group of members at a meeting which included more than 15 members, of whom I was one. A discussion took place over the fact that no proposed bills have been submitted to the Assembly and that the government has agreed to discuss this issue, despite disagreement over the bylaws and the constitution. There was no objection and I proposed to those present that if the government sets the month of May for the debate, then this can be accepted as something undesirable but necessary, if the need arises. I also said that the Shari'a issue is not an issue that concerns the government alone but a religious issue to which the members are committed. I proposed that we, the members, begin making studies that are then turned into proposed bills that take their correct course through the Assembly's specialized committees, with such studies started immediately and without waiting until May. If codification of the Shari'a takes a long time, then we can take up the current laws that are in conflict with the Shari'a as a first step. Moreover, the laws issued by the People's Assembly must be derived daily from the Shari'a or, at least, must not be in conflict with the Shari'a. The

conferees agreed on this. Moreover, there is what I have said on numerous occasions about promoting virtue and preventing vice with kind words in order to create the climate. We, as members, can formulate whatever steps are capable of striking at the vices prevalent in society into legislative bills. What cannot be molded into bills can be presented to the media, the press and the educational institutions in the form of recommendations. There was a consensus on this proposal and I have actually begun the studies and am in the process of submitting some bills to the People's Assembly."

Regarding the People's Assembly session in which a debate took place between Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and the Assembly speaker on the procedural formalities, al-Mismari said: "It is my personal opinion regarding the procedural issue that the procedure here is not just a formality but a system by which the bills are presented in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution and of the bylaws. If these bills have already been discussed, approved and completed, then the problem here is that they were not in the hands of the Legislative Committee and that they may be re-submitted by a member."

Shaykh Salah's Relationship with Wafd Is Beyond My Jurisdiction

Regarding his position vis-a-vis Shaykh Salah's relationship with the Wafd, Muhammad al-Mismari said: "Shaykh Salah is a member of the Wafd's Higher Committee and one of the party founders. Therefore, the relationship between him and the Wafd is beyond my jurisdiction. I am not colluding with anybody inside or outside the party. The Shari'a issue is the issue of worshipping God in every sense of the word. If I felt that the Wafd is against implementing the Shari'a, I would have a different position. I do not believe that there is anybody preventing me from advocating the implementation of the Shari'a. But we want to overcome the obstacles, put our feet on the path and formulate an axis on which to focus in codifying the Shari'a. We should not allow our reactions to create an obstacle on the path. Rather, we should unite in heart and mind to implement the Shari'a. As for the Wafd swerving from its principles, this is not at all expected because the Shari'a is a part of its program and a part of our constitution. The day the Wafd violates these principles, I will abandon it and abandon the People's Assembly also."

Shaykh al-Matrawi's Question

Shaykh Muhammad al-Matrawi said: "I wonder why Shaykh Salah is embarking on a dispute with al-Wafd and on an argument and a debate with al-Mahjub? Siraj-al-Din cannot prevent me from talking about the implementation of the Shari'a, and Dr al-Jahjub said: 'I am with the Islamic Shari'a.' We must approach matters seriously and work calmly and serenely. We must submit the laws gradually, one after the other. We love Shaykh Salah and we will redeem him with all we have. If we have accepted the political solution, then we must be politicians and must operate in the open air and in front of all. As for the shaykh's problems, he has to solve them with al-Wafd."

When I submitted al-Mismari's and Shaykh al-Matrawi's statements that the Wafd Party chairman has not warned the party members against talking about the Shari'a inside or outside the People's Assembly--when I presented these

statements to Shaykh Salah, he said: "The two did not attend the 11 January session in which this discussion took place between him and the Wafd chairman." Shaykh Salah said: "My witnesses are those who attended the session, namely Counselor Mukhtar [presumably meaning Mumtaz] Nassar, 'Alawi Hafiz, Hasan al-Jamal, Dr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar 'Aziz and Karam Zaydan. I am apprehensive about citing so much information because I may be asked to offer the proof, as you are demanding, and may not find any if the witnesses refrain to mention what they heard and saw, and I hold these witnesses above engaging in false witness. The proof is available to anybody who can hear and see now that Mumtaz Nassar, the leader of the Wafdist opposition, has agreed with Dr al-Mahjub to postpone the debate on the Shari'a until next May."

Thus, it becomes obvious that the selection of Mumtaz Nassar to lead the opposition was an initial step to oust Shaykh Salah and to prevent him from talking about the Shari'a, isn't it so?

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EGYPT

MAJOR ISLAMIC THEORETICIAN GIVES ECONOMIC, POLITICAL VIEWS

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 11 Feb 85 pp 50-53

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali by Hibah 'Abduh: "A Conversation with Shaykh Al-Ghazali"]

[Text] Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali is not the personality you know. He is an Islamic proselytizer whose name fills the horizon and whose intellectual output is read by thousands, indeed millions of Muslims. Shaykh al-Ghazali is one of the pillars of the Society of Muslim Brothers.

Shaykh al-Ghazali, in this interview, talks about the crisis of practical application in religious thinking, with all its issues. He condemns Arab "laziness" and states his opinion on extremist religious groups with the same clarity with which he evaluates forward leaps in science in the East and the West.

Religious Thinking and the Dilemma of Application

[Question] What are the dimensions of the crisis in religious thinking?

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali said, "Religious thinking, in terms of its source, is genuine and true, because it comes from God. It arises from divine, infallible inspiration, it is not subject to doubt and it is not encumbered by falsehood from any direction."

He fell silent briefly, then continued "If there is a crisis in religious thinking, it comes from improper inferences and quotation or through application and conduct. The error therefore is ours, when we do not understand properly and do not act properly. Therefore people have said that Islam is infallible but Islamic thinking is not infallible, because mankind errs and acts correctly. Islam is infallible but Islamic rule is not infallible, because Islamic rule is the action of rulers in the service of religion, and their rule is not infallible. After this, allow me to stipulate that I do not admit that 'religion is in crisis.'"

[Question] Some people consider that part of the crisis of "thinking" in the Islamic religion is connected in some way to the application of Islamic law,

such as the imposition of Islamic penalties and the like, and the stipulation of the obligation of a social insurance bond for application.

[Answer] There is no doubt that among religious jurists the application of Islamic penalties consists of lines from the [holy] book and that the abrogation of the penalties is assuredly to be rejected. However, a few lines do not make it possible to dispense with the whole book. First of all, it is necessary to establish the roots, then second it is not permissible to disavow the branches; that is for the sake of the public interest. However, as regards the statement that the application of Islamic law regarding Islamic penalties must be accompanied by social insurance, that is a statement that has been exaggerated. Islam does not cut off the hand of a hungry thief -- to the contrary it urges this hungry person to stand up to the person who has deprived him of his sustenance. God said "There is life for you in retaliation." Why should we bring in alien stipulations and apply them, while the Koranic stipulation is clear about this? Moreover, the thieves here are not hungry.

[Question] I am talking about the Islamic crisis in its entirety.

[Answer] In Saudi Arabia there is absolute faith, and thefts take place there only rarely. In the Sudan, al-Numayri has started to apply Islamic law.

[Question] In talking about the issue of Islamic law, we must address ourselves to such issues as:

Islam and government.

Authenticity and modernity in Islam.

Does Islam consist of belief and law, or just belief?

Consultation and democracy in economic social political vision.

[Answer] These issues represent the essence of prevailing thinking about what religion has to state, and [the relationship] between religion and what other conceptions impose upon it. For instance, as regards the issue of Islam and government, and the nature of Islam as a religion, almighty God tells his prophet, in the name of God the most merciful and all-compassionate, "But no, by your lord! They will not believe until they make you the judge regarding the disagreement between them," to the end of the verse. The longest chapter in the Koran regulates financial transactions.

It is well known that belief and law are parts of Islam and that it is composed of them, and Islam is supposed to be a religion which must distance itself from government.

Concerning Authenticity and Modernity in Islam

His Eminence Shaykh al-Ghazali continued to give rebuttals concerning the issues presented to him. Regarding authenticity and modernity in Islam, he

stated "There are things which do not differ from one time to another; for instance, we say that God is one. What has this statement to do with time? Likewise, when we say that the hereafter is a right and that we must elevate the human spirit, these are constants which are taken as accepted, beliefs which do not admit of change. However, what are subject to change are methods and some scientific curricula; for instance, regarding the affairs of this world which have no connection with the affairs of religion, change and development are permissible. There are things regarding which Islam has made statements and it has left it up to us to determine their methods, such as consultation, for example. Islam has made them obligatory as a general framework which governs us, but it has not concerned itself with the details. It is not concerned whether the choice of a ruler comes about through a general direct vote or a parliamentary one. Let religious conscience guide us to arrive at the best means for obtaining the best results for the good of all Moslems."

Regarding Consultation and Democracy

Shaykh al-Ghazali said, "What is democracy? It is the freedoms we yearn for. If those are the freedom to express opinions without pressure, there is no difference between consultation and democracy. However, democracy, at times, in some countries, may amount to a reaction against and alienation from seriousness to the point of triviality. Russian democracy, for example, stresses the dissemination of atheism and Western democracies do not punish the crime of murder by death or prohibit or penalize adultery.

"Democracy in this form is chaos, while consultation is connected to the human intelligence and its freedom to act. However, it sets out rules."

Regarding Moderation

Shaykh al-Ghazali did not agree that moderation is an Islamic intellectual precept, and said, "The Greek philosophers said that virtue is moderation between two things. Moderation is not such a well known engineering notion. For example, generosity might be closer to squandering than to parsimoniousness, bravery might be closer to rashness than to cowardice, and so on. The moderation which Islam endorses may be summarized in a phrase, 'no excess or neglect.' Islam is intelligence and emotion, body and spirit. 'Go not beyond the bounds in your religion and say nothing but the truth about God.' Tawfiq al-Hakim came close to the moderation of Islam in his book 'Egalitarianism.'"

A Crisis in Morals or a Crisis in Sustenance?

Since he is one of the major figures in the group of the Brothers, the biggest tributary of the Islamic current in Egypt, we asked for his opinion about the economic crisis, and he said,

"The Egyptian nation and the other Arab countries are suffering from a crisis in sustenance as much as they are suffering from a crisis in morals. The tenuous nature of sustenance here arises from a breakdown in the makeup of Arab man, his thinking and his conduct. Arab man is walking about on ground

made of gold which needs only people who are its equal in order to yield up its food at all times, with the permission of its lord. Poor Arabs do not work, and rich Arabs have abundant, massive revenues but their approach is marred by misery and the phenomenon of spending on private desires or deposits in banks hostile to the Arabs.

"I am not satisfied with the statement that the Arab countries are suffering from economic crises, and I do not believe it. I myself have seen the fertile lands east and west of the Nile being turned into buildings and factories. The desert could have accommodated all that! Couldn't we have built from East Cairo to Suez, if we had wanted to, or are we geniuses at turning fertile lands into buildings?

"The other thing is, shall we seek out people to blame? Whom shall we blame regarding this matter? We have reclaimed a million feddans and lost a corresponding million. Economists who do this -- are they men of wisdom or must they be put in quarantine?"

[Question] Does this mean that Egypt is not suffering from an economic problem?

[Answer] If there is an economic problem, it is secondary. Our real problem is that there is no ordinary understanding and ordinary execution of man's affairs. I would like to know whose responsibility this has been over the past 30 years.

[Question] Regardless of the particular nature of the Egyptian issue, the food crisis is an international one.

[Answer] It is not international. Australia and America are burning their crops.

The Third World Is Slothful

[Question] What about Asia and Africa?

[Answer] These countries' crisis is that they represent the third world. This world is third not because it was born stupid but because it is slothful. God created man equal in intellectual abilities; the environment creates honest men and also creates treasonous men. As it creates active persons, so does it create slothful ones. What did the English do when they found that their island did not provide them enough food for 2 months out of the year? They were active in trade, and went into lands besides their own.

[Question] That is, they colonized them!

[Answer] They went into lands where no one was. They filled up Australia and America. Have the Arabs thought of going out into open space lands? There are 2 million feddans in the Sudan. Laziness is our curse.

[Question] Doesn't your eminence imagine that we are going beyond the facts of history here?

[Answer] No. Where were the Moslems when the era of rebirth started in the early part of the 16th century? Where were we after the conquest of Constantinople? Where were we when the countries divided up the legacy of the Islamic caliphate in Turkey?

[Question] But this is the responsibility of the ruling classes.

[Answer] The ruling classes act tyrannically when they find that they can reach out and not have their hands severed.

Egypt Is Also Slothful

[Question] Could this opinion also apply to the issue of birth control? In other words, could attributing the cause of the problem to laziness apply also in your opinion to the issue of birth control?

[Answer] Let me ask in turn: if the number of Egyptians declines and they then number just 20 million and maintain the spirit of laziness, turning what is fertile sterile and letting factories produce at half their capacity, this means that we will remain in poverty, but if the situation becomes reversed and we start thinking seriously, poverty will disappear.

[Question] That is a value judgment which it might be difficult to bring about by itself?

[Answer] What is fear, except what a young person fears?

And what is security, except what a young person considers secure?

Therefore, Israel can turn the desert into fertile land while the Arabs are failing to do so. Why should women in Israel be the creators of life and Israeli nationality be assigned to them, while Arab women want to live pampered and in luxury?

Let me also ask, why should someone who comes into this world be a burden on them and not a help to them? Why shouldn't he be productive and a force, rather than thinking that he will be a consumer and an impediment? The problem is that we enter the house from the back door and do not for example deal with imports of unskilled labor and servants from east Asia.

Islam Is the Means

His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali concluded the value judgment he pronounced against the third world, and Egypt in particular, so that we could get into a second topic with him, covering the Islamic groups. Before we deal with this issue with Shaykh al-Ghazali, we should point out that to us the boundaries between the Islamic intellectual current which started at the time Islam came into Egypt and the political role the Islamic current has played, in which some events of history were affected by being strengthened or reduced, are clear.

At the outset we presented Shaykh al-Ghazali with a Western analysis by Prof Wilfred Cantwell Smith, which he included in his book "Islam in Modern

"story" (a famous book which appeared in the fifties), in which he said that one of the most important reasons for the spread of the phenomenon of harmful religious fanaticism among young people was their feeling that they were repelling an oppressive attack against their society by foreign forces. Fanaticism here consists of a kind of defiance in order to confront this attack, in the light of the confusion to which young people succumb between the attack on the society and the problems of life which they suffer from personally.

At the beginning Shaykh al-Ghazali stipulated two things:

First, the statement that there is religious fanaticism among Moslems is unsound.

Second, Wilfred Cantwell Smith was more profound in his view than our Arab writers. Shaykh al-Ghazali said,

"There is a difference between a challenge and the response to the challenge, between aggression and the response to the aggression. Were the Arabs who prevented Jews from settling in Palestine or the Jews who came to colonize a country with which they had no connection the fanatics?

"The person who retains his right, clings to it and prevents oppressors from usurping it is not a fanatic.

"The person who protects his money and bears his weapons in order to prevent robbers from plundering it is not a fanatic. Rather, the fanatic is the one who is frozen with the ignorance within him and keeps his thinking sealed off and removed from other views. Islam, of course, is innocent of all this.

"These young people found that many things detracted from their religion and their personalities and stood up to attempt to deter this challenge or aggression. The question is, were the means they adopted sound and reasonable or not? Some people resist by honorable, Islamic means and no one blames them for their struggle. However, the people who commit violations against the teachings of religion and the principles of Islamic law to resist what they imagine to be a challenge -- these people are to be blamed."

Real Currency and Forged Currency

[Question] At the beginning, your eminence the sheikh, you said that there is nothing that can be known as Islamic fanaticism or fanatic groups. What do you say, therefore, about the Repudiation and Renunciation and al-Jihad Societies?

[Answer] These people do not represent Islam. Their behavior is wrong and their thinking is also wrong. Therefore we have stood up to them in order to make them understand that Islam does not advocate the methods they resort to. What Muslim scholar thinks of asking the scholars and all the Muslims of Cairo to migrate to Yemen? Who thinks that university education is a threat to Islam, and orders that students be withdrawn from the university? No intelligent person would ever say such a thing.

[Question] What then is the explanation for this phenomenon?

[Answer] I consider that when sound currency is made illegal, forged currency spreads. I would like to add that intelligence, acts of the mind and discussion alone are the means to guarantee that such dangers are warded off.

[Question] Nonetheless, there still is a gap between what young Muslims, who represent all the branches of the Islamic current, want, and what actual reality shows us. In your eminence's view, where are the dimensions of this gap and how can young Muslims transcend it?

[Answer] I do not recognize the existence of such a gap, in essence. Young people want only a proper guide who is assured in his religion and conscience. With respect to the facts they decide on then pursue, the scholars must be left to lead young people and total freedom must be left for discussion and abstract thought on behalf of all the people. If atheists are left to determine what they see fit, we must also have the same right and we will triumph through thinking, also, because ours is a Moslem nation which wants to live in Islam.

[Question] In conjunction with this platform, what are the limits of the freedoms left to Moslems in application of the holy prophet's statement "You are the most knowledgeable about the affairs of your world?"

[Answer] Everything connected to the world in the form of the establishment of factories, the doubling of production and expansion of the scope of orderly management.

[Question] There are "religious" matters which are more serious than this, which the religious groups consider to be their own preserve on grounds that they are part of the affairs of religion.

[Answer] Like what?

[Question] There are the serious forward leaps in knowledge which the West is witnessing, especially in the area of genetic engineering.

[Answer] There are games with words regarding such matters, exactly as was the case regarding the issue of test tube babies. One of our great writers said, "The West has developed and is now making babies." Man has not created man, and will not do so. The matter, simply, is that medicine overcame a disease which impedes childbirth and prepared circumstances where a fetus could be outside the mother's womb for a period of 15 hours only out of the whole 9 months the fetus spends in its mother's womb -- only those few hours. On the subject of inherited characteristics, the theories on that are well known and except for this, all these issues are fantasies and tall tales. I do not like to distract myself with deluded persons who take drugs. I like to say that if the scholars of the West or the East come up with something new, let us look at it when it happens.

Concerning Religion and Politics

We then proceeded to ask His Eminence Shaykh al-Ghazali about the issue of religion and politics, about his view on the differentiation between the Islamic intellectual current and the Islamic political current.

Shaykh al-Ghazali said,

"There is no difference between them."

[Question] Even insofar as the political role of religion here in Egypt appeared only after the establishment of al-Azhar University and the political and social events which came during and after that in this historic period?

[Answer] I do not know where the origins behind that statement lie. Islam has been a religion and a state since it emerged, and [will be such] forever. It is international colonialism that is trying to differentiate between them preparatory to liquidating Islam. The analysis you cited is the fantasizing of deluded people.

[Question] In a statement he made regarding the emergence of the Muslim Brothers' movement, the master Hasan al-Banna stipulated that it is "an appeal to the religion of our forebears, a mystical fact, a political body, a sporting society, a scholarly and cultural league and an economic firm."

Wasn't this platform connected to the movement, for which reason it gave it a distinctive political form?

[Answer] When the master al-Banna made that statement, he referred by it only to the people who turn religion into prayer, fasting and nothing else, and referred to the holy verse "And we have revealed to you the book making clear everything, and as guidance and mercy and as good tidings to the Moslems." He described the truth of Islam, then showed that the Brothers would turn the application of Islam into a religion and a state. For example, he wanted to resist the spread of the financing and business companies which were in the hands of foreigners and were the force behind economic activity in the country. The scholars argued over words; he wanted to return to religion so that it would be a mystical appeal, after he had stripped mysticism of superstitions and sleight of hand.

The master al-Banna posited a general reform movement then died before he could complete it. What Hasan al-Banna called for has now started to appear in the form of Islamic banks which conduct transactions in speculation contracts rather than contracts of usury and use contracts based on collateral which Islamic thinking has set out in the place of the contracts based on collateral which everyone is now familiar with. Islamic jurisprudence is broad in this area as well, and has indeed offered drafts of laws which in effect make the penal basis of the laws Islamic ones.

[Question] Does that mean that the Brothers' movement does not embody a distinctive political current?

[Answer] I said that since God revealed it to his prophet, Islam has been a religion and a state, a holy text and a sword, an idea and action. The idea will remain until the hour comes.

[Question] Let us conclude our conversation with His Eminence Shaykh al-Ghazali with a question on what he propounds concerning what we might call "the Islamic question." How does he evaluate it, and how does he propose to solve it?

Shaykh al-Ghazali said,

"All Muslims must work together to repudiate the people who commit violations against them, and we must not stand against people who oppose secular governments in Islamic countries.

"Finally, the matter of the Islamic Iraqi-Iranian war must be left to the Muslims' scholars, who can carry out God's orders regarding this war and the termination of it."

[Question] What is this solution?

[Answer] I cannot explain it now, because the matter of giving an explanation would take a long time. However, I express my readiness, myself and the shaykh of al-Azhar, to intervene in the name of Islam to stop this war.

Shaykh Muhammad Al-Ghazali

He graduated from al-Azhar mosque in 1941 and is 67.

He started as a giver of exhortations in mosques, then was a director of mosques in the Egyptian Ministry of Religious Endowments, director of the training department, then director general of the call to Islam in Egypt.

His official activity is counsellor of the call to Islam in the Ministry of Religious Endowments.

He worked in Saudi Arabia in 1976 as a professor of higher studies and chairman of the department of the call to Islam and principles of religion in the Faculty of Islamic Law in King 'Abd-al-'Aziz University in Mecca.

He has seven sons and has lost two.

He has more than 30 books, all regarding the call to Islam. Of these, no less than a million copies have been distributed.

11887

CS0: 4504/239

EGYPT

NEW PROGRAMS DEvised TO IMPROVE ELECTRICITY USE EFFICIENCY

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 1 Mar 85 p 11

[Article: "Wasted Power and Electricity: Saving What Can Be Saved"]

[Text] Oil consumption in the last 10 years (1975-85) has increased to more than three times its previous level, at an annual rate of 13 percent on the average. This in reality constitutes concealed subsidies which are embodied in the difference between the local prices of energy and the export and import prices by which the oil sector in the world market operates. These subsidies have come to about \$3 billion a year in the last 3 years although these concealed subsidies do not distinguish between those that are deserved and those that are not deserved. Here decrees must be adopted which will guarantee that these subsidies are guided.

The government has taken positive steps, as stated in the study by Eng Fu'ad Abu Zaghlal, chairman of the Committee on Industry and Energy in the National Party, in executing a policy which has the goal of guiding energy. Most important of these are:

The establishment of the Higher Energy Council including all the ministers concerned with energy affairs, as far as production and consumption are concerned. One of this council's most important accomplishments has been the diversification of energy sources by moving the nuclear program into the stage of execution, thereby alleviating the burden on oil as a source of electricity, since the cost of nuclear generation is lower by approximately half.

The holding of national symposia in which the ministers concerned have taken part. These have concentrated on the issue of guiding energy consumption in its most important consuming sectors, industry, transportation and electricity. The first of these symposia was held in November 1981 and the most recent in January 1984.

Establishment of the Energy Planning Agency, to offer technical support to the Higher Energy Council. The agency mobilizes the manpower and experts required for the agency to carry out its missions, which are concentrated in energy guidance and coordination of efforts the various bodies exert.

Study of the issue of the guidance of energy consumption, in particular the consumption of oil products, which account for about 87 percent of the total [energy] consumed, in all the annual conferences of the National Democratic Party. A number of important recommendations have been issued and some of these have actually been carried out. It has not been possible to carry some out, especially as far as price increases are concerned, because they lie within the framework of the general policies of the government, which must be arrived at through the participation of all the agencies of the people and parliamentary representatives.

The nationwide guidance of energy consumption in Egypt can be realized only in two ways:

Gradually raising prices to the world level over a period ranging from 10 to 15 years.

Using technological methods which have the goal of raising the capability of machinery and equipment using energy. This requires the expenditure of investments whose volume varies in accordance with differing circumstances. The magnitude of the savings resulting from the use of the two means is roughly equal.

The national program to guide energy has the goal of realizing the following objectives:

In the Sector of Electricity

Diversifying the sources of electric generation through the use of sources cheaper than petroleum products by establishing nuclear plants and using coal, by importing from abroad or rapidly making use of al-Magharah project coal and expanding the search for more coal in this or other areas.

Expanding the exploitation of hydroelectric power, which is actually being done through the establishment of the Aswan reservoir hydroelectric plant, while carrying out a feasibility study on the generation of electricity in the barrages erected along the Nile and its branches, including them in the plan and hastening to finish the studies bearing on pumping and storage in the Red Sea.

Increasing the capability of steam plants through the continued execution of replacement, renovation and development programs. On top of that, it is necessary to operate the gas generation plants using natural gas as peak stations only, which will bring about their best economic operation, and review the current generating system so that reliance on large units with high capability will increase, and reliance on small units will be reduced.

Requiring the imposition of intensified surveillance over electric transmission and distribution lines and stiffening penalties for electricity theft, since the proportion of the discrepancy between the volume of electricity generated and the electricity sold is estimated at about 15 percent.

Reviewing electricity pricing so that that will not be burdensome for small consumers and setting out a general incentives policy in whose context financial aid will be offered to individuals, authorities and companies which substitute solar energy and other renewable sources for traditional energy.

In the Industry Sector

Intensifying cooperation between productive units in the public sector and agencies assigned to guide energy, such as the Energy Planning Agency, the Scientific Research Academy and research bodies in the universities, giving attention to the training of people working in the area of the guidance of energy, providing the information and data necessary to raise their capability and expertise and developing production systems and technology bearing on aluminum plants.

Devoting attention to preventive and periodic maintenance operations, reviewing the possibility of establishing specialized companies to conduct such maintenance in accordance with specific schedules to which the companies benefiting from the maintenance will commit themselves and proposing a general incentives policy.

The Transportation Sector

Creating rapid non-traditional solutions to the problem of traffic in Cairo and other major cities, expanding the construction of multi-level garages, the construction of bridges and tunnels and the construction of high-speed ring roads around the city, and expanding the use of microbuses as a means of public transportation in the center of the city, while limiting the entry of private cars and taxis.

Expanding the use of river and railway transportation to transport goods and passengers in various areas of the republic and linking up the railways to factories close to them to limit the use of means of land transportation, in order to reduce transportation costs and limit oil product consumption.

Investigating the use of the coupon system for disbursing small amounts of gasoline per car at the subsidized price, with amounts in excess of that at economic prices.

Prohibiting the erection of electrical ornaments of all forms and on all occasions, stipulating a maximum for electric power which individual consumers may obtain while escalating the price noticeably thereafter for consumer classes.

Renewing television transmission hours while moving mass programs outside the evening peak period.

Government Facilities and Bodies

Avoiding increases in lighting intensity for purposes of public lighting. It is also necessary to limit the lighting of farm roads and reduce public lighting at midnight, while installing electric light appliances to confirm that streets are not being lit in the daytime and the early morning.

11887

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EGYPT

RIVAL BOOK FAIR PROTESTS ISRAELI PARTICIPATION

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 6-12 Feb 85. p 19

[Article: "Cairo: Israeli Flag Burned at Book Fair"]

[Text] For the first time Cairo is witnessing two book fairs this year. One is the Cairo International Book Fair. The other is the fair put on by those opposing the idea of Israeli participation in the first one.

The Egyptian government has succeeded in preventing the situation from becoming more complicated. In what analysts describe as a clever move, the government decided to limit Israeli participation in the book fair to the first 3 days. During that time the general public was not allowed into the fair. Those days were reserved for publishers, who were not permitted to sell books.

Last Friday was the first day the public was admitted to the fair. Several thousand citizens gathered inside, criticizing Israeli acts. They burned the Israeli flag at the fair and held up signs bearing slogans in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people. While Israel was exhibiting in a locked hall, Arab and Egyptian publishing houses, which had pulled out of the fair during the first days, were holding their own fair inside the Egyptian Bar Association building.

How Did Israel Participate?

Israel had participated in the book fair only once, 2 years ago. At that time, its participation in the fair provoked violent reactions among citizens. A clash broke out inside the fair, and the Israeli wing was destroyed. The following year, the Egyptian government refused to have Israel participate in the fair, on the pretext that Israel had not submitted its request to participate in the fair on time.

This year, months before the fair began, Israel submitted its request to participate in the fair to the Egyptian government. It insisted on that. There were high-level contacts for permission for Israel to participate. Israeli officials regarded Egypt's consent or lack of consent for Israeli participation as proof of just how desirous Egypt was to improve relations.

Ever since initiatives for these Israeli contacts first began, the Egyptian opposition press and a number of opinion makers in the national press began demanding that the Egyptian government reject Israeli participation in the fair. Some trade unions and opposition parties began coordinating their positions on rejecting Israeli participation.

The Egyptian government was in a predicament. Principles and international convention prevented it from refusing Israeli participation in the fair. It was an international fair, and any nation which had relations with Egypt could participate.

The dialogue rejecting Israeli participation continued on the pages of both the national and party press alike, except for some opinions which refuted the logic of the rejectionists.

When Israeli participation in the book fair was confirmed, those opposing this participation began to intensify their activity in urging Egyptian and Arab publishing houses to boycott the fair. The Egyptian government made no move regarding them. It did not attempt to limit either their activity or their freedom to publish and declare their position rejecting Israel.

The matter went beyond permission for oppositionists to publish their points of view in their press. They even broadcast those views on Egyptian radio, which is the information institution subject to direct censorship by the government. It was striking that the state program, the official main broadcasting station in Egypt, broadcast the column of Ahmad Baha'-al-Din and Kamal Zuhayri, well-known Egyptian journalists, when they attacked the idea of Israel's participating in the book fair.

A political analyst commented on this phenomenon. He said that the Egyptian government wanted to inform both world public opinion and Israel of the extent to which the Egyptian man on the street and Egyptian intellectuals rejected steps toward normalization with Israel. He added that the Egyptian government had demonstrated success in learning how to use opposition voices within Egypt to strengthen its negotiating position with Israel.

Parallel Fair

Following the decision to have Israel participate, the idea emerged to hold an alternate book fair to take the place of the fair in which Israel would participate. The alternate fair would open on the same day as the international fair. Indeed, a considerable number of publishing houses decided not to participate in the international fair in protest against Israeli participation and to participate in the alternate fair. It was expected that this fair would have great echoes and infinite reverberations.

However, 2 days before the fair opened, the Egyptian Ministry of Culture decided to limit participation in the book fair on the part of nations to the first 3 days. These first 3 days were regarded as the Cairo International Book Fair. These days were set aside for nations and publishers to exhibit their books, with no sales.

After the first 3 days, the Cairo International Book Market began. Publishing houses only, no nations, participated and conducted business with the public.

This move was the first of its kind. The Ministry of Culture resorted to this move to get out of a predicament. Israel's participation was limited to the first 3 days only.

Indeed, this clever move on the part of the Egyptian government achieved its objective. Certain publishing houses completely abandoned their boycott. Some refused to participate the first 3 days, and joined in during the following days.

The opening day of the fair, 22 January, witnessed manifestations supporting the Palestinian people and rejecting Israeli participation.

Egyptian Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali opened the fair. When he passed by the Israeli wing, he did not stop. He walked by it, as he was obliged to go to the wing of the General Information Authority, behind the Israeli wing. When the prime minister passed by the Israeli wing, those present jeered the policy and practices of Israel and cheered in support of the Palestinian people and the PLO.

In the PLO wing, they greeted the prime minister warmly and presented him with a Palestinian kufiyah.

Meanwhile, in the Bar Association building, hundreds of citizens gathered at the opening of the alternate fair. A press conference was given. It was attended by certain representatives of the publishing houses which had boycotted the fair. Nabil Sha'th, member of the Palestine National Council, and representatives of press and bar associations made public their position rejecting Israeli participation in the fair and demanding that it not participate in any fairs in the future. Also, the press association decided to hold a conference in which Egyptian and Arab politicians, artists and intellectuals would participate. They also decided to hold an artistic evening in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people and publicly announce their rejection of any step toward normalization with Israel.

The public was admitted to the Cairo fair at the exhibition park in Nasr City only after it had been open for 3 days. Israel participated during those first 3 days only. The first day the public was admitted, several thousand Egyptians and Palestinians gathered. They were led by

a number of students from universities and higher institutes in Egypt. They repeatedly jeered at and criticized Israel, its practices in the occupied territories and its behavior impeding the peace process. They burned the Israeli flag inside the fair. They raised the Palestinian flag and carried signs condemning Israel and supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate rights.

7811

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IRAQ

FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES PIPELINE, ECONOMY, DEVELOPMENT

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 30 Jan 85 p 5

[Article: "Iraqi Finance Minister Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT That Iraq Is Fulfilling the Requirements for the Oil Pipeline to the Red Sea"]

[Text] In an interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Iraqi Finance Minister Hisham Hasan Taqfiq al-Yawar stressed the importance of the fraternal relations which bind his country to the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states, and described these relations as excellent, advanced, and governed by the bilateral agreements between the joint committees which are continually meeting either in Iraq or the Gulf countries. AL-Yawar, who heads the Iraqi side in the negotiations of the Iraqi-UAE joint committee for economic cooperation, added that these relations are continually improving.

The Iraqi minister explained that his country has fulfilled all the requirements for constructing a pipeline to export oil to Red Sea ports via Saudi Arabia, and that Iraq is trying to complete the necessary steps for financing another pipeline to the Jordanian port of al-'Aqaba.

The Iraqi finance minister denied reports that Iraq was receiving American financial assistance, or that Iraq intended to obtain such assistance now that diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States have been restored.

Iraq's Debts Are Not Large

Speaking of the economic situation in Iraq, al-Yawar said that Iraq's debts are not very large, and amount to less than the current debts of some developing countries and Arab states which are not in a state of war like Iraq. He added, "We are confident that the Iraqi economy is capable of meeting these obligations. Debts are nothing in such an interconnected world, especially from the financial standpoint. Therefore, what I want to say is not that Iraq has no debts, but that these debts are recognized as being quite ordinary. As for the scheduling of debts, this is only natural. When we entered into the war, we had huge projects under way, and there was a general boom in Iraq. We have tended to keep these projects going instead of cutting back on them or stopping them, which would harm Iraq, especially since we believe that one of the reasons for this war is to stop development in Iraq."

Al-Yawar said, "We have therefore tried to re-schedule our payment commitments to companies doing business in Iraq, in such a way as to ensure that they will continue to function and their needs will be met--on a deferred basis, however. Therefore, we have made an effort to reschedule and defer these payments over longer periods of time. Bilateral agreement has been reached with all companies operating in Iraq for postponing payments in a way acceptable to both sides."

Development Projects Are Continuing

He pointed out that Iraq has continued to carry out projects which it started before the war, and has held off on new development projects except for those which would yield a rapid return and would provide new sources of revenue for Iraq. He also indicated that Iraq has begun implementing several new national defense and security projects.

The Iraqi finance minister emphasized that Iraq has completed all the necessary steps for building an Iraqi oil pipeline to Red Sea ports in Saudi Arabia, and is trying to obtain financing for another pipeline which would link Iraq's oil wells with the Jordanian port of al-'Aqabah.

The Dinar's Exchange Rate Is Not Affecting the Iraqi Economy

Speaking of the effect the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war is having on the Iraqi dinar, the Iraqi finance minister said that the Iraqi dinar is a local, non-convertible currency, and therefore any fall or rise in Iraq's currency has no effect on the Iraqi economy. The Iraqi currency will never vary, even with respect to its exchange rate, because the domestic exchange rate for the Iraqi dinar is fixed. He explained that the unofficial outflow of currency does not indicate the state of the Iraqi economy; in this case the currency is like any other commodity subject to supply and demand on the foreign market.

The Iraqi finance minister referred to the outstanding part being played by the Iraqi people, who want to participate in the war effort, saying that all the Iraqi families have done their duty voluntarily, some contributing gold, some money and articles. He mentioned that these contributions were made generously and freely, and accomplished two basic things. First, they reflected the patriotism expressed by citizens who felt that they should take part in the struggle. Second, they achieved vast contributions in a very short time.

The Arab Stand

In his interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, al-Yawar said that the Arab political stand on the Iraq-Iran war has become more progressive than it had been previously, now that this war has become clearer as a result of the Iranian stand on various international efforts to stop the war, which has led to the emergence of a clear-cut, unequivocal Arab stand in opposition to Iran's stand.

Al-Yawar added that the progress in the Arab stand showed up clearly in the recent Arab League resolution on the Iraq-Iran war, and in the meeting held in Baghdad by the seven-member Arab committee to follow up its mission to stop this war. He said that during its recent meeting in Baghdad, this committee adopted much more serious stands.

He emphasized that Arab support for Iraq will help it resolve the situation sooner than is expected at the present time, and that this support will have an even broader effect by making other countries' political stands on this war more serious. He also emphasized that Iraq's military stand is sound, and that he is fully confident of the capabilities of other Iraqi resolutions and resources.

The United States Could Have Influence

Al-Yawar added that the American stand has become more understanding of the Iraq-Iran war and has begun to change, as evinced in statements by several American officials about the war. He expressed his hope that the United States would assume its responsibility, as a super-power, to help stop this war, either directly or through its friends, especially the European countries.

The Iraqi finance minister denied that there was any European initiative to stop the Iraq-Iran war, pointing out that every 6 months there is more talk about such an initiative, during the formation of the EEC leadership, and also whenever an Arab official visits Europe. He called on the European countries to adopt a serious, effective stand on this war, so that any future initiative on their part could have greater impact.

The Iraqi finance minister commented on the emergence of a Japanese stand which shows more understanding of the war's developments and dimensions, and on Japan's dealings with Iran, especially the importation of Iranian oil and the construction of industrial projects in Iran. He pointed out that this development in Japan's stand is basically due to the efforts of the seven-member Arab committee, which explained to Japan, during the visit of the Iraqi and Kuwaiti foreign ministers to Japan, that the Japanese stand does not serve Arab-Japanese relations. He said, "However, more Arab pressure is needed, because only continual, effective Arab pressure will influence the Japanese stand."

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IRAQ

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES RENAMING DAMS

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 10 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Yahya Kazim al-Najjar: "National Assembly Discusses Ministerial Proposal To Rename Mosul Dam as Saddam Dam and Hadithah Dam as al-Qadisiyah Dam; Reports of Number of Assembly Members Who Participate in International Symposiums and Seminars Read"]

[Text] The National Assembly held another session yesterday morning under the chairmanship of Dr Sa'dun Hammadi, the Assembly speaker, which was attended by 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, the minister of irrigation.

The session covered several items, including reports submitted by a number of Assembly members on their participation in international symposiums and conferences and a discussion of a proposal by the Ministry of Irrigation to rename the Mosul Dam as Saddam Dam and Hadithah Dam as al-Qadisiyah Dam.

The National Assembly approved a bill prepared by the Assembly's two permanent committees, namely the Agricultural and Trade Affairs Committee and the Legal and Administrative Affairs Committee, which had been presented to the Assembly by Leader and President Saddam Husayn on the recommendation of the Ministry of Irrigation and calling for renaming the Mosul Dam as Saddam Dam and Hadithah Dam as al-Qadisiyah Dam. The bill was approved after a lengthy discussion in which the minister of irrigation, summoned by the Assembly for the purpose, participated. The minister reviewed briefly the importance of these two dams and provided brief information on each, saying: "We have heard about the Hadithah Dam and the Mosul Dam since our youth, but their construction took place only under President Saddam Husayn's administration. We propose that the Mosul Dam, which is a gigantic international dam, be renamed Saddam Dam and that the Hadithah Dam be renamed as al-Qadisiyah Dam because it coincides with the war period."

Importance of Saddam Dam

The importance of Saddam Dam is that it can store 12 billion cubic meters of water and can generate 1,032 megawatts of electric power, which amounts to one-quarter of the country's electric power. The dam also makes it possible to control floods, supplies water to all of the country's projects from the

north to the south and is capable of irrigating 1 million donums of land. The dam is also capable of developing navigation [river transport] and tourism and enhancing the fish resources. It is, furthermore, capable of storing 70 percent of the flood water which used to go to waste. Nearly 78 percent of the project, which will be completed in 1985, has been built so far. The project's electric power-generating facilities will be completed in 1986. The project costs amount to 560 million dinars.

The main credit for this dam, which has been built despite the war conditions, goes to the leader and president.

Al-Qadisiyah Dam Is Vital Project

Regarding al-Qadisiyah Dam, the minister of irrigation said that it is a vital project, especially since the construction of dams on the Euphrates in Syria and Turkey, since the Euphrates River waters have been flowing to us in smaller quantities, depending on the whims of the lackey Syrian regime, and since we have begun to suffer from fluctuations in the water flow throughout the year. This dam should have been constructed before Turkey and Syria built their dams but the lack of seriousness on the part of the previous administrations led to this grave harm until we were able to build this dam, thanks to the instructions of President Saddam Husayn. This dam will be completed in 1985, and will store water and then release it regularly to meet the country's needs. The dam's electric power-generating capacity is 660 megawatts and it will contribute to developing the fish resources and tourism. The dam's storage capacity is 8.2 billion cubic meters.

Discussions

The Assembly speaker then opened the door for discussion and a large number of Assembly members spoke, pointing out the importance of these two dams to the country's agriculture and noting that renaming the Mosul Dam as Saddam Dam reflects the Iraqi people's loyalty to his excellency the president and to his ceaseless struggle to achieve and entrench the mainstays of Iraq's independence and to build civilized Iraq. Hatim al-'Azzawi, Khadr al-Duri, Mundhir al-Shawi, Sattam Hamad, Hadi 'Ubayd, Kamal al-Hadithi, Ghazi al-Dayrawi, Nazar al-'Azzi, Muhammad 'Aylan, Hazim Muhammad, Ihsan Shakir, 'Isa Salman, Najat Majid, Radi Hasan, Manal Yunis, Nuwwar Hilmi, Khalid 'Abd-al-Mun'im Rashid, Rahim Hadi, Ni'mah 'Annun, Musallam al-Juburi and Qasim al-Sharif spoke at the session, making sound proposals to enrich the bill, including proposals to rename the two lakes, with the Mosul Dam lake renamed as Lake Saddam and the Hadithah Dam lake renamed as al-Qadisiyah Lake. A number of members proposed that the Mosul Dam be renamed after Saddam Husayn, the victory leader, and that Hadithah Dam be renamed al-Qadisiyah Dam.

Ministry of Irrigation's Proposal Wins

At the end, the opinions and proposals were put to the vote and the proposal of the Ministry of Irrigation, formulated and submitted by the Agricultural

and Trade Affairs Committee, headed by Hamid al-Sa'idi, and the Legal and Administrative Affairs Committee, headed by Hamid al-Rawi, won the vote, with the proposal on renaming the two lakes appended to it.

Review of Activities

Yesterday's session started at 1000 when the Assembly speaker asked Dr Sa'id Qasim Hammudi to read his report and review the Iraqi delegation's activities, the discussions which took place during the convocation of the International Parliamentary Union in Geneva and the defeat of the proposal submitted by the Iranian regime to the conference.

Dr Harith al-Khashshali also presented his report on the Euro-Arab parliamentary symposium which was held in Madrid and attended by 90 European delegations and 14 Arab delegations, including the Iraqi delegation.

Ibrahim al-Shaykhali presented his report on the visit of the Arab Parliamentary Union's delegation to Latin America and Jubra'il Ishaq presented his report on the 17th Session of the Palestinian National Council, which was held in Amman recently.

Dr 'Abbas Muhammad, Dr Khalil al-Samarra'i, 'Abd-al-Shahid Kati' and Muhammad 'Aylan expressed their observations on the reports submitted by the aforementioned gentlemen.

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CSO: 4404/221

27 March 1985

IRAQ

ECONOMIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF 1984 REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 29 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by 'Abd-al-Hadi Khudayr: "Under Canopy of President Saddam Husayn's Leadership, Our People Bid Farewell to Another Year of Their Triumphant Procession; Number of Decrees Honoring Martyrdom and Redemption Issued; Iraqis Elect Their Representatives to Second Session of National Assembly"]

[Excerpts] Under the canopy of the leadership of President Saddam Husayn, the nation's historic commander and the knight of hard times, our triumphant country's masses receive a new year abounding with giving and major accomplishments that add new pages to the history of the homeland of glory and dignity.

While living the joys of the new year with hearts full of hope and optimism, we must recall the country's generous offerings to its sons by reviewing the most prominent resolutions made by the Revolutionary Command Council last year--resolutions which have touched on the economic and social aspects of the lives of numerous groups of our loyal people. We must also point out the most important and major strategic projects implemented last year, pausing a little before the most significant Arab and international conferences held in Baghdad.

Giant Strategic Projects

Though last year witnessed our country's entry into the fifth year of its just war, the building and development process experienced nothing but more enhancement and growth at the various levels. Last year witnessed the construction of a broad network of housing, health, educational and service projects, proving that Iraq cannot be undermined by the enemy's attempts to hamper its progress and to prevent it from taking its rightful place among the world's countries. We will confine our discussion here to the most significant giant projects of a strategic nature.

Iraqi-Saudi Oil Pipeline

On 27 September 1984, Iraq concluded a contract with two foreign firms to implement the first phase of the pipeline to export Iraqi crude oil through Saudi territory.

The capacity of the project's first phase amounts to 500,000 barrels a day and the period for the completion of this phase has been set at 11 months.

This project is one of the projects which the revolutionary and party leadership decided to implement within the framework of the strategy of finding new outlets to export Iraqi crude oil. It is also one of the strategic projects to which President Saddam Husayn has devoted direct attention and followup.

Second Expansion Project for Iraqi-Turkish Pipeline

The year 1984 also witnessed the signing by Iraq and Turkey of the minutes for the second expansion project for the Iraqi-Turkish crude oil pipeline.

This project will raise Iraq's crude oil export capacity from the current 700,000 barrels a day to 1.55 million barrels a day.

In accordance with the minutes, approval was given to the recommendations of the Joint Technical Committee entrusted with analyzing the offers made by the consulting engineering firms and with selecting one of these companies to prepare, with the participation of technicians from both countries, the basic blueprints and documents to invite bids for implementing the projects within 2 years.

Forefathers' Dream Crystallized

Under the administration of Leader and President Saddam Husayn and in the time of the great Ba'th, the forefathers' dream has been crystallized with the implementation of a vast irrigation project, namely the Saddam irrigation project, which is considered one of the major irrigation projects and whose importance lies in its supplying water to vast areas of cultivable land which depends on rainwater.

The project includes two canals: a major canal with a length of 37 km and a subsidiary canal with a length of 30 km. When the project was offered for implementation, no company bid to build it. This motivated the Ministry of Irrigation to embrace the idea of direct implementation to build it.

The project covers cultivable lands with a total acreage of 1 million donums distributed among the governorates of al-Ta'mim, Salah-al-Din and Diyala.

Giant Dams

In the same year, two giant dams with a major impact on economic and agricultural life were inaugurated.

In Ninawa Governorate, Saddam Dam (al-Mawsil) was inaugurated. This is one of the biggest storage dams in the world, with a storage capacity of more than 12 billion cubic meters of water and capable of generating electric power amounting to 1,030 megawatts. This dam creates a lake with a surface area of 450 square km.

The second dam is al-Qadisiyah Dam (in Hadithah) where a celebration was held under the patronage of Leader and President Saddam Husayn on 3 October 1984 to divert the Euphrates River course through the hydroelectric plant of the Hadithah dam project.

The construction of this project was a dream for nearly a quarter century because of its economic benefits and its numerous advantages for the Euphrates basin. The party and revolutionary leadership realized the importance of this project in developing the water resources of the Euphrates River basin, in preserving the country's water resources and in developing an economically and socially advanced countryside.

Al-Qadisiyah Dam, which has a storage capacity of 8 billion cubic meters of water and a capacity to generate 660 megawatts of electric power, insures the regular flow of water to the agricultural projects in the Euphrates River basin whereas such a flow used to be interrupted in both summer and winter, especially since the construction of dams in Turkey and since the lackey Syrian regime started storing water in al-Tabaqah Dam without planning or coordination with Iraq, thus causing Iraq agricultural damage as a result of the scarcity of water.

Enormous Road and Bridge Projects

In 1984, the country witnessed the construction of numerous bridges (78 altogether) built by the Public Bridge Construction Organization in various parts of the country with various shapes and dimensions. In designing the blueprints for all these bridges, consideration was given to the architectural style reflecting the deep-rooted civilization of Mesopotamia.

The 14 Ramadan Bridge is one of the 40 best bridges in the world and the first bridge of its kind in the Middle East. It is 370 meters long, 30 meters wide and 55 meters high and has two lanes in each direction and sidewalks.

Al-Rashid Bridge is 600 meters long, 21 meters wide and has four car lanes, two in each direction, in addition to sidewalks.

The intersections of the army canal, totaling 7 in number and including 32 bridges and 13 tunnels and totaling 4,000 meters in length, were also implemented.

In Nineveh Governorate, Saddam Bridge, which links the Mosul-Kirkuk highway and which is 638 meters long and 30.8 meters wide, was also implemented.

There were also the (Aski Kalak Bridge in Irbil Governorate, Tahwilah bridges in Tikrit, the Diyala Governorate bridges, the third Ba'qubah bridge, Wasit al-Jabbah and Badrah bridges, al-Kamit, Sadr, al-Majarr and al-Tabr bridges in Maysan Governorate, al-Qarnah, al-Huwayr, al-Dakhkhah and Hawr al-Himar bridges in al-Basrah Governorate, al-Khadr bridge in al-Muthanna Governorate and a large number of pedestrian bridges.

A number of express highways were also built within the framework of the major development projects that are of strategic importance, including 4 express beltways in Baghdad Governorate, in addition to express Highway 1 which is 1,200 km long and consists of 10 parts extending through the country's governorates. There is, furthermore, the Baghdad-Abu Gharib expressway, which is 23 km long, and al-Dawrah-Yusufiyah-Greater Saddam Bridge inter-section, which is 16 km long.

National Campaign To Enhance Productivity

On 17 July 1984, the day of abundance and giving, 1 and 1/4 million workers headed to work and production sites to launch the biggest national campaign for the enhancement of individual productivity, accompanied by all the administrative agencies.

This campaign started with our masses' popular celebration of the 16th anniversary of the triumphant 17-30 July revolution and will continue for a full year to enhance the workers' productivity in order to entrench and bolster the working class's role and participation in building the lofty glory and in strengthening the great victory achieved by Struggling Knight Saddam Husayn.

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IRAQ

PROGRESS REPORT GIVEN ON SADDAM IRRIGATION PROJECT

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 12 Dec 84 p 8

[Article by Qasim Mahdi: "Saddam Irrigation Project: Beating Nature's Contours"]

[Text] In the Saddam irrigation project, the vast land has been turned into a green carpet extending into the far horizon. Every part of this vast area is flourishing with a different crop. Here, yellow corn rises tall and beautiful on the land. There, vegetables of all kinds are growing. In other parts are the grape vineyards. Somewhere else, vast acreage is set aside for the cultivation of all kinds of grains.

These are sights that compel you to fall in eternal love with the great abundance of this good earth under the canopy of Leader Saddam Husayn, may God keep him. In the past, the peasant families living on this land used to await the arrival of the rainy season with a lover's eagerness, looking toward the sky in utter anxiety and concern and raising their arms in imploration and hoping that the rains would come to quench the thirst of the parched land so that it might produce a little.

These peasant families are now living under the glory of the homeland and the glory of the heroes standing shoulder-to-shoulder against the tendentious Iranian aggression seeking to destroy the accomplishments achieved under the canopy of the revolution and of the principles of the leader Socialist Arab Ba'th Party. This aggression forgets that the glorious sons of Iraq whose roots extend into the unfathomable depth of the soil will defend this Iraqi soil with all their might.

The peasant families in the Saddam irrigation project are now living a new life abounding with hope, optimism and love. Modern housing has been made available to them, electricity has entered their homes and the civilization and progress for which the revolution aspires have entered through the widest doors. Moreover, the farmer living here has the right conditions to apply modern agriculture. To achieve this objective, the project management has devoted attention to setting up a special farm, according to agricultural engineer Fa'izah Majid, who is in charge of the experimental and research farm designed to find out the fruits and vegetables compatible with the nature of the cultivable lands to insure the successful cultivation of such fruits and vegetables in the project lands.

Experimental Farms

The acreage of the said farm amounts to 40 donums with 10 greenhouses for conducting experiments on the successful methods of vegetable cultivation. These greenhouses have heating equipment which enable the farm officials to create the right climate for the growing of vegetables.

Sprinkler irrigation and drip irrigation have been used in the vegetable gardens of this farm. This experiment is intended for the economical use of water, taking into consideration the proper irrigation of fruit trees at the same time. For the first time, I have seen the low-irrigation sprinkling method in this project. This method consists of plastic piping laid around the trees, with water issuing from low-level fountains that do not rise higher than tree trunks. The officials say that this method guarantees that the flowing water penetrates to the tree roots and provides the proper irrigation. It is different from the high-level sprinkling method of irrigation which causes the loss of large quantities of water without producing any noteworthy benefit, not to mention that high-level sprinkling causes some of the tree leaves to drop.

Good Results

According to the official in charge of this farm, the results achieved by the project management in the past 6 years of this farm's life have enabled us to discover that the project lands can produce tomatoes, okra, watermelon, green peppers and eggplants, to determine the best time to cultivate onions and to find out the best method for fruit-tree irrigation, namely the method of irrigation by low-level sprinkling.

We toured the project in the company of agricultural engineer Muhammad Mutashshir, the director of the project's agricultural affairs, and paused before vast areas cultivated with wheat and barley. The method of irrigation here has also relied on sprinkling, with piping extended and special water-pressure equipment installed to insure the equal and fair distribution of water. The merits and benefits of this method also include the economical use of water. Moreover, modern methods of agriculture have also been followed in order to enhance production.

Special Training Center for Farmers

We then headed for the Farmers Training Center where we understood from the official in charge that this center is concerned with conducting educational courses for the farmers to teach them the modern farming methods and the mechanized agriculture methods employed in the project. This, of course, is done in coordination with the branch of the Federation of the Peasant Cooperative Associations in al-Ta'mim Governorate. The farmers are also taught how to use and plant seed, how to use chemical fertilizer and how to combat crop pests, if they exist. The nature and duration of these courses vary according to the importance of each course and of the topic it deals with.

Modern Irrigation Methods

The irrigation methods employed in the Saddam irrigation project are among the modern methods used in the country. The project's main canal, which supplies the project with water from the Lower al-Zab River and was built by direct implementation [without foreign contractors], is one of the important canals in the area and is lined with a coating and concrete. In the near future, this canal will supply al-Huwayjah District and the farms around it with the necessary water through another canal built for the purpose.

The irrigation system in the Saddam irrigation project has tackled the most significant obstacles facing it, namely the rolling contours of the land. Suspended canals have been built and through these canals, water is supplied and distributed fairly to all parts of the project. Through this modern method, the farmers can utilize all the cultivable land. Suspended canals consist of lined canals built a little above ground level and resting on concrete supports built into the ground. The land to be irrigated is supplied with water through special plastic piping.

Beautification of City of Kirkuk

Aside from the method of irrigation it employs and the crops it contains, the project will add an aesthetic touch to the city of Kirkuk and will enable the Khadah Chai River to flow constantly whereas it used to rely on rainwater.

Eng Qasimah Isha, the official in charge of the Khadah Chai River project, said: "On the instructions of Leader and President Saddam Husayn, may God keep him, the first stage of the project, which provides for the improvement and enhancement of the river course for a length of 3.5 km and for the building of 10 submerged barriers to retain water in the river and to insure the flow of water from the Lower al-Zab River at the rate of 1 cubic meter per second, has been completed. This stage was inaugurated during the country's celebration of the latest anniversary of the July [revolution] holidays."

The second stage, in which the work continues, provides for supplying water from the subsidiary canal to Basin No 9.

This lady official also asserted that the Iraqi woman has been able to stand side-by-side with her brothers, the men, to prove her ability to contribute to the Saddam irrigation project and to engage in work in all spheres of life.

Main Canal of Second State To Be Completed at End of 1985

It remains to be said that work continues to proceed at a rapid pace to complete the second stage of the project which begins in Tazah Subdistrict in al-Ta'mim Governorate and extends for length of 60 km. The work has now reached Tuz Khurmatu County. It is hoped that the main canal for the second stage will be completed by the end of next year so that this land may again bring forth abundance and prosperity in the era of the blessed revolution.

IRAQ

BRIEFS

STATE FARM WORKERS' INCENTIVE--The Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform has formed a number of specialized committees to carry out Leader and President Saddam Husayn's instructions on the development of state farms and state livestock farms. Sadiq 'Abd-al-Latif Yunis, the minister of agriculture and agrarian reform told the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY that advisory committees comprised of a number of officials have been formed to carry out the president's instructions that 20 percent of the profits made by every state farm and agricultural project be distributed to the farm or project workers. The minister pointed out that the distribution process will take place in accordance with certain controls taking into consideration the workers' efficiency, their distinguished efforts and production and their commitment to the various work duties. As for the workers who fail to perform their duties, they will be denied their share of the profits. The minister pointed out that a higher committee has been formed under the chairmanship of the ministry's under secretary to study the actual situation of the agricultural projects and to determine their needs for public cadres and technical equipment in order to eliminate the manifestations of masked unemployment in some work and production facilities and to reduce production costs. The minister also pointed out that next year will witness the issuance of a number of laws to regulate the agricultural sector's work relations, to enhance the productivity rates qualitatively and quantitatively and to achieve self-sufficiency in order to insure food security. Regarding the measures taken to implement this winter's cultivation campaigns, the minister said that 75,000 tons of various kinds of seed, various kinds of compounded fertilizers and separate urea, produced locally, have been secured. [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 5 Dec 84 p 7] 8494

SOUTHERN ROADS, BRIDGES--The total length of the roads built by the technical agencies of the Public Southern Roads Organization amounted to 2,354 km in 1984. This has been stated by Qays Hashim al-'Azzawi, the organization's general director, who said that the total volume of the earth-moving work on the roads which were built and are distributed in the governorates of al-Basrah, Maysan, Dhu Qar, Wasit and al-Muthanna amounted to 10,101,000 cubic meters. Al-'Azzawi added that the length of the roads built to serve the war effort in the sectors of al-Basrah, Wasit and Maysan amounted to 1,267 km and the volume of the earth-moving work involving road, dam and screen construction amounted to 23,000,869 cubic meters. Touching on the bridges built last year, al-'Azzawi said that the organization built 15 bridges with a total length of 1,300 meters. Regarding the road and bridge maintenance work, the general director pointed out that the organization is carrying out maintenance work on old roads totaling 261 km in length, is widening and building shoulders for a number of roads with a total length of 769 km and is building 24 car parks and maintaining 95 bridges. He underlined the serious contributions made by the road directorates in al-Basrah, Maysan, Wasit, al-Muthanna and Dhu Qar in carrying out various activities in support of the service agencies, such as filling swamps. He also underlined the large-scale contributions made by the popular action campaigns. [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 29 Dec 84 p 6] 8494

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ISRAEL

FUNCTIONING OF PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE DESCRIBED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE in English 25 Jan 85 pp 2-3

[Article by Mark Segal: "The Peres Boys"]

[Text]

THE SIGHT of a rainbow arching over Jerusalem seemed particularly propitious as I entered the Prime Minister's Office on Monday morning. After all, it had been a good week for Premier Shimon Peres, what with the Lebanon pull-out decision, the record low index figure, the defeat of the "Who is a Jew" provocation, not forgetting the fall-out from the national morale uplift from Tel Aviv Maccabi's win over the Russians. No wonder Peres is soaring in the polls.

Walking towards the inner offices, I passed an open door revealing former premier Menachem Begin's aide Yehiel Kadishai engrossed in the morning papers. He is the enduring presence of the Likud's first prime minister.

The corridors of power badly need some whitewash, or even complete redecoration. But the prime minister and his staff would never dream of seeking such an extravagance at a time of severe cuts in essential spending.

Compared with the splendour of the French and the British inner power structure, or the decorous luxury of the White House, that of the Jewish state is quite spartan. No

thick carpets and all the furnishings are exceedingly functional. Certainly the working conditions of the princes of banking and captains of industry I encountered streaming to the conference room are much grander.

I was witnessing the convening of the forum for discussing ways and means of recruiting investments throughout the Diaspora communities for Israel's economic growth. The PM has delegated ministerial responsibility for what has become known in officialese as the "task force" or "Operation Independence" to Economic Co-ordination Minister Gad Ya'acobi.

THE PRIME MINISTER stalks into all this bustle from his weekly session with his close circle of advisers. Their functioning is an integral part of the smooth-running, sophisticated policy-making machinery that Peres has assembled since he took office. This is the institutionalized get-together with the boss of the circle of bright young aides - the oldest is 40 - that has already earned the appellation, "The Peres Boys." At the core is Government Secretary Dr. Yossi Beilin, that most subtle of counsellors, whose function goes

way beyond his duties as secretary to the cabinet. After all, he is closest to Peres, having served him faithfully throughout the years in the wilderness.

As an astute observer of the scene told me, Beilin has fitted into his place at the heart of power like a hand into a well-shaped glove. He does not have to bang on any tables, like some of his peers, to establish his pre-eminence. It is Beilin who has an open door to the prime minister and who has become his indispensable adviser in many fields. It is thanks to Beilin that Peres is benefiting from the services of a modern, co-ordinated system, not always apparent at the top level of our government.

It is in Beilin's room that the other Peres Boys convene daily at 8 a.m. to discuss the business of the day.

The other participants in the forum, which sometimes convenes twice or three times a day, are political adviser Dr. Nimrod Novik, economic adviser Dr. Amnon Neubach, Government Press Office director Dr. Israel Peleg, media counsellor Uri Savir and his deputy, Baruch Askarov. They are all university graduates, all well-travelled, all multi-lingual, and all sabras.

Beilin is 37, Novik, 38, Savir, 32, with Askarov the youngest at 29 and Neubach the senior at 40. If one adds to them Boaz Eppelbaum, director of the Prime Minister's Bureau who is aged 40; Avraham Burg, the new adviser for Diaspora Affairs, who is 29; plus the PM's adviser on counter-terrorism, Amiram Nir, aged 34, one realizes that there is justification for the excitement about the fresh minds and new talents being infused into the very heart of governance under the Peres premiership.

One characteristic shared by most of the young aides is that they belonged to the Labour Party's Mashov ideological circle, into which Beilin drew party members and university friends. Novick, Neubach and Peleg belonged to Mashov, as did Askarov, who was not a party member. Eppelbaum worked with Peres at Labour Party HQ, while Peleg was also a party official. Savir is on loan from the Foreign Ministry, straight from doing a sterling job as press counsel in New York. Askarov used to work at Israel Radio, meeting Beilin while his student at his Tel Aviv University political science courses.

Both Novik and Neubach were on the "first 100 days" commission Beilin formed to draft blueprints for Peres's first period in office. Novik interrupted a brilliant academic career, while Neubach, who spent 10 years at the Finance Ministry, rising to the top of its budgets division, now has a job as manager of Hadera Paper Mills finance department.

ALL THE Peres Boys have willingly subordinated their personal lives to their jobs, sacrificing leisure and family as they adapt to the punishing pace of their workaholic chief. The journalists covering this beat know they can rely on reaching Peres's staff at the office as late as 11 p.m., sometimes after midnight. None of them has seen a movie or a play or been to a concert since starting his present job.

Only Savir is a Jerusalemite; the others commute daily. Novik lives furthest away, Ra'anana, missing mainly the pleasures of playing with

his two children, often reaching home near 1 a.m., and is on the road at 6.30 a.m. for Jerusalem. The two-year term so far assigned to Peres deters Novik and the others from undergoing the costly and laborious process of transplanting families and homes nearer the job. The married aides have wives with their own independent careers — Helena Beilin is Tel Aviv assistant district-attorney, having quite a reputation as a "crime buster," and she is a good friend of Prof. Ruth Novik, who is in charge of the science education curriculum at Tel Aviv University. Aliza Savir works at the Foreign Ministry information department and is completing her Ph.D. in communications at the Hebrew University.

Peres is invariably among the first to reach the office, preceded usually by his personal assistant/secretary, Aliza Eshed, who worked for him when he was at the Defence Ministry. A voracious reader, Peres, who usually rises before 6 a.m., starts his day with a new biography or something similar and goes on to read the morning papers and such foreign publications as the *International Herald Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Le Monde*. At the office his cables include summaries of leading foreign papers, especially *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the major European dailies. Of the weeklies, he gets *The Economist*, *Time* and *Newsweek*.

MONDAY JANUARY 21 was described as "a slow morning." After his session with his circle of aides, his formal schedule was as follows: a meeting with industrialists before two-and-a-half hours of the task force, further consultations before being driven to Beit Hanassi for his weekly luncheon with President Herzog. After lunch, further consultations, including one with his adviser on high-technology.

At 5 p.m. the prime minister received Deputy Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon and other members of the committee set up to commemorate David Hacohen. Then a quarter of an hour for a video-taped interview for the

Association of U.S. Religious Broadcasting Stations, which will screen the Israeli premier's message at its conference along with that of President Ronald Reagan.

At 6 p.m., a Haifa deputation led by Mayor Arye Gurel, followed by meetings with such Labour politicians as party international secretary Micha Harish and rebellious kibbutz leader, Deputy Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-Oz. This led to his hosting the discussions for "Package Deal II" from 8 p.m. into the small hours.

In between these fixed appointments there was a regular input of material from his aides, including his military secretary Aluf Mishne Azriel Nevo, 38, the only one left over from Shamir's time. His office is across the hall from the PM's bureau, next door to the room of Savir and Askarov.

The man who actually holds the keys to the inner sanctum is Eppelbaum, who sees himself as a kind of "traffic warden" at the PM's door. His duties include arranging the daily agenda, and policing access to the premier, which means that he must deal with the shoals of nudniks who believe that they must see the head of government. This has obviously made him enemies, but "I don't have any choice," he shrugs good-naturedly.

Eppelbaum feels that the example of hard work at the top of the pyramid must influence the rest of government. "At least they know we're watching for the follow-up on decisions adopted here," he points out. While not one shekel was spent on new furnishings, the bureau chief is an enthusiastic supporter of the modernization of the office system, as symbolized by the brand-new computer terminal on his adjoining desk, a gift to Peres during his visit to Paris from Jean-Jacques Servain-Schreiber.

He has only one portrait on his office wall, that of Israel's third premier, the late Levi Eshkol. He sees a resemblance between Peres and his erstwhile political adversary: "Like Eshkol, Shimon is a healing and a unifying leader who seeks consensus. That's why he devotes so

much time to consulting with fellow ministers. That's why I've always stayed with him, because I believe in his perception, his vision, his open-mindedness to new concepts, his readiness to listen to the views of others. True, it's not easy because of the pressure of events and time."

ANOTHER DUTY is the premier's correspondence — he gets at least a hundred letters a day, some he directs to the office of the Ombudsman, run by Peres's lifelong comrade Elhanan Ishai, who also coordinates with him Peres's tours of various parts of the country.

Eppelbaum assures me that Peres insists on replying to all letters from children. One example, dated 25.11.84, from an address in Kiryat Ata:

"Dear Prime Minister Shimon Peres!!!

"We hereby appeal to you in this letter to tell our father to stop the freeze, because since you declared the freeze, our father reduced all his shopping, and he doesn't buy us any chocolate or Bamba, or any other sweets. He says that it's the government's order to freeze prices and shopping. We'd also like to ask you to send us in the meantime some sweets because we can't do without them.

"Thanks a lot,

"Tehila, Hadassa and Mattityahu Luria."

Peres's reply:

"Dear children,

"I received your letter of November 25 and read it with the deepest attention.

"I truly understand your feelings, but we have no choice, if we want to save our economy from a calamity. It is the duty of all of us: adults and youth, and even children, farmers and factory workers, soldiers and officers — all of us. Every one of us must cut back, forgo easy pleasures and help to improve things.

"The cuts and the freeze hurt sensitive and even sacred areas, but rest assured it's only for the time being, after which we will have a strong and properly working economy independent of foreigners. So it would be for the best if you would hold on for some time, and by so doing show your friends that chil-

dren too can have a strong will, and thereby help adults put the economy on the road to recovery.

"All the best, greetings from Shimon Peres."

THE GOVERNMENT secretary sits in an office that could do with redecorating, and some new bookshelves. The electric heater is ancient; even the TV set is an old black-and-white model that cost IS10,000.

The newest item is the computer terminal, and Beilin has enthusiastically embraced computerization. All cabinet minutes since 1981 are now in the memory bank and can be summoned to the screen in no time at all.

He plans to add to the memory bank all the motions and plans submitted at cabinet meetings over the years. Although the closest aide to the prime minister, Beilin in his new post makes a point of not getting involved in his boss's party activities.

The self-effacing humour, which conceals one of the more brilliant intellects and strongest wills in the rising generation of politicians, comes in handy when he has to deal with the complex inter-personal and inter-party relationships of the national unity government. He has been described to me as a "one man fire brigade" and "a psychiatric social worker" for cabinet ministers.

Beilin, I was told, has the kind of antennae that enable him to sense and defuse impending conflicts between ministers before they get out of hand. He concurs with Eppelbaum's description of their chief as a healer and unifier like Eshkol; but he points out that Peres, unlike his immediate predecessors, is also like Ben-Gurion, an interventionist prime minister. He is involved in economic issues, and appears frequently on the Knesset podium to state the government's position on explosive issues such as Ethiopian aliya and "Who is a Jew." To be able to do this he needs an appropriate back-up system. In Beilin's view, Peres's aides assist him by being able to meet ministers and other key figures and report back to him in concise form.

LATER I was to hear from Askarov

that the regular confabs of Peres's Boys help them to synchronize their input to the chief, and save him precious time. Beilin has taught his circle that all memoranda to the chief must be as terse as possible.

It is Beilin's function to arrange the cabinet's agenda and to attend all of its sessions and those of its committees chaired by the PM.

However, Beilin strictly avoids taking part in coalition executive meetings or those of Sarenu — the Labour cabinet caucus.

Beilin's transformation from party spokesman is most noticeable in his performance as government spokesman, especially after every cabinet meeting. Frequently, he finds himself explaining positions that are in marked contradiction to his own views. One example: asked for the government's position on the Reagan Plan, Beilin as government secretary explained: "Its rejection by the government of Premier Begin still stands as official policy. I assume that, in the eventuality of a further U.S. initiative, the government will consider the matter anew."

His measured explanations of the official position earned him praise from Likud ministers. After all, as he explained to me, the stand on the Reagan Plan has not been altered; therefore it remains as one of 50,000 decisions adopted by the governments of Israel since the state was born.

OVER NOVIK'S desk is a small plaque bearing the wry legend: "If you can keep a cool head in these times, perhaps you just don't understand the situation."

He says that the PM's aides must always be guided by "the gevalt syndrome": "At any given moment that means the sky is falling or the sky will fall tomorrow or the sky fell yesterday, but we're not smart enough to realize it." His main problem is dealing with people "who equate the high price of war with the threat to Israel's survival."

Behind the strong sense of humour fortified by eight years of teaching at the University of Pennsylvania is a profound realization that one must establish a balance between knowledge of the parameters of Israel's power and its limitations.

"It is my job to help the prime minister in two principal areas," says Novick, "seeing the mines before they explode and deciding how to deal with them - defuse or let them blow up to our advantage...An example? I'm supposed to know whether any new U.S. arms deals with the Arabs are in the offing, and I'm supposed to offer a list of the options open to us." In addition to which it is his task to follow up decisions "and see they don't get lost in the system." He fully coordinates with Beilin at the top and has found "terrific people" working with him in both the Defence establishment and the Foreign Ministry.

The political adviser enjoys working with Peres. "It's easy to work with him because he has a clear idea of the foreign policy agenda, knowing exactly where he wants to get to... It's our job to ensure that things don't work counter to the objectives of our strategy... Of course I disagree with him sometimes, but I know that he never overrules me out of ignorance of what one has in mind. He's consistently ahead of me, which is not always the case with other bosses. If he overrules me or one of the others invariably I realize in retrospect that he's right."

Isn't it heady?

"I have my own built-in bumper guard. Knowing I can influence the PM, and that I bear a great responsibility not to err, brings me down to earth."

URI SAVIR differs from what he considers the traditionally passive style of our official spokesmen. He sees his job as developing Peres's dialogue with the public. This must proceed according to a clear strategy that includes the appearance of the premier in different parts of the country.

"I'm very much against over-exposing him. I'm trying to have the media convey our agenda, rather than create media events. We want to sell the agenda rescuing the economy and settling the Lebanon issue. No, it's quite untrue that we're oriented to image. It's more accurate to say we're oriented to substance."

Because Peres treats the public seriously and talks to them as intelligent people, he evokes a warm re-

sponse, says Savir. He is certainly the one Peres Boy who has witnessed tangible results of his work, as the demonization of Peres proceeds. It's largely due to the new style emanating from the Prime Minister's Office, with Peres displaying no hatred towards any group, including his worst Likud denigrators.

I MANAGED to catch the new economic adviser *en route* to an urgent meeting at the Treasury. He is very wary of journalists, insisting that "I'm still learning my job" when asked to define his position. It would seem that he is very careful not to offend sensibilities among his old colleagues at the Treasury.

Trying to get some insight into Neubach's thinking and background, I gather that his specialty at Bar-Ilan University was micro-economics and his teacher was Dr. Moshe Mandelbaum, today governor of the Bank of Israel. During his decade at the Treasury he most enjoyed working with Yigael Hurvitz, but quit when Aridor took over.

As to his economic philosophy, Neubach is decidedly not a monetarist, regarding himself as a pragmatist.

Of the two new appointments, I was only able to meet Burg. Nir is, I gather, regarded as an outsider by the other Peres Boys; friction is avoided by his working in Tel Aviv.

From other sources I learned that Peres imposed Nir on an unwilling Defence and Security establishment, somewhat anxious because of his record as a journalist. But those of his group I discussed him with aver that he is qualified for the counter-terrorist job; after all, he held a senior post with Aharon Yariv at his Centre for Strategic Studies. Nir was a commitment Peres was tied to, they said.

AVRAHAM BURG has in a short time won over everyone in sight by his good-natured charm. His easy manner conceals a sharp intellect, and one soon finds that he has inherited his wit from his father, Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg. Burg accepted the job as adviser on Diaspora affairs because he feels that while not trespassing on the established Jewish organizations' areas,

he can establish a human bridge with the Diaspora communities, especially the members of his generation, many of whom do not belong to the organizations.

"I belong to the first generation that was born under Jewish sovereignty," he explains. "My contemporaries in the Diaspora are not immigrants. We speak differently from our elders... The question is how to convey the new message emanating from Israel in order to overcome common problems."

As part of his intention of "putting muscle" on the prime minister's ideas for consolidating the partnership between Israel and the Diaspora, Burg will strive to bring the most prominent rabbinical scholars from all parts of the world to Jerusalem to ponder the "Who is a Jew" issue.

He has close ties with the French-speaking community, partly because of his wife, who came on aliya from Strasbourg in 1968. Burg is also well acquainted with other European communities and has abroad connections with U.S. Jewry.

THE NATURE of the broad coalition must of necessity oblige Peres to have at his disposal the machinery for compromise and integration. The nature of the broad coalition obliges Peres as an interventionist prime minister to have quality islands in the bureaucratic structure to attend to his government's working; this means that he needs the best men available in the organizational field.

Luckily, his agreement with Yahad's Ezer Weizman gave him as director-general of the Prime Minister's Office the doughty Avraham Tamir, who brought his lifelong experience in the IDF as a strategic planner and one of his most brilliant aides, Yaacov Heichal; together they did much of the groundwork on the peace treaty with Egypt - Heichal headed our military delegation to Cairo during most of the negotiations.

Tamir certainly has the most comfortable office after that of the PM. On the wall are two photographs symbolizing his career - one taken at Camp David, with him peering be-

tween Begin, Carter and Sadat; the other shows him with Sharon just after they established the bridge-head over the Suez Canal in 1973.

He is fairly secretive about his work, but reveals that plans are forging ahead for integrating the updated computer systems of various branches of government, so as to ensure as large a reservoir of information as possible at the PM's instant disposal.

Apart from running the Prime Minister's Office, it is his duty to ensure that the chief gets all the necessary input for top-level policy-making. He is creating the instruments and the teams to enable the PM to pursue his goals. "I am striving to integrate the instruments of policy, I can only say that there is no such thing as an individual genius in such matters. The genius must emerge through team work."

Tamir is also tapping the best

brain power in the country and relying on our university think tanks. He is assisting Gad Ya'acobi, as the minister responsible for launching the council to provide guidelines for economic and social growth. Its aim is to implement Peres's target of doubling over GNP by the end of the decade.

IF I were to choose something symbolic of the Peres administration, it would be a letter-opener I saw on Eppelbaum's desk - it's in the shape of a boomerang, and it could be seen as his way of saying "the buck always returns here." What I also found illuminating was the passage from Psalm 131 which Eppelbaum keeps on his desk as a kind of cautionary warning. It reads: "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty; neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me." □

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ISRAEL

AMBASSADOR ROSEN DISCUSSES STATUS IN WASHINGTON

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[Interview with Me'ir Rosen, Israeli ambassador to the United States; in Washington, date not specified]

[Text] [Question] There is a feeling here that the embassy is being avoided. This complaint can be heard from people of the American State Department whose main contact is with Sam Lewis. Moreover, the feeling is that ministers or Knesset members prefer to hear what Sam Lewis has to say rather than what the Foreign Ministry has to say based on reports from the Embassy.

[Answer] I do not share the opinion that the embassy is being avoided. An example for bypassing the embassy was cited by the fact that a letter to the prime minister was handed to Ambassador Lewis in Israel. The fact is that the person who delivered the letter in this manner did not know that protocol requires that the ambassador hands the letter to the prime minister, and when the prime minister wants to hand a letter to the [American] president he does it via the ambassador in Washington. This is the protocol.

[Question] But this was a letter from Shultz, and he knows the rules.

[Answer] I want to tell you, and I am not revealing any secrets, when the subject is sensitive economic issues and decisions are made on this or that issue, I am informed and so is the embassy. It is true that the number of those within the embassy who are in the know is very limited. Sam Lewis is one of the best ambassadors the United States has ever had, but I do not think that he is used as a means to bypass the embassy. It is true, I will admit, that the embassy is very conscious of security because there have been some leaks, and when I have to decide between the issue or between being generous, I cannot afford to be generous on issues pertaining to the whole nation. I have arrived at the conclusion that generally people leak information on issues that are not theirs but their colleagues'. In order to prevent that we had to departmentalize. I still do not think that the embassy is being bypassed.

[Question] How do you ensure that you receive reports on everything that happens so that you do not remain out of the picture?

[Answer] First of all there are daily meetings with the attaches. Other than that there are no secrets in this town.

[Question] In other words you have to hear from a third party what is going on?

[Answer] No, this has not happened to me.

[Question] Then how do you hear about what is happening?

[Answer] If I met daily with each embassy employee I would have no time for anything else. The method I employ is to receive copies of all telegrams sent to Israel and I read them late at night or early the next morning, and I make comments, in writing, as necessary. Other than that, if there is any need I get up-to-date by getting more details on issue which require my attention.

[Question] What do you have to know as the ambassador?

[Answer] You do not have to know each and every detail, but you should know the main issues. When I left for Washington there were all kinds of political initiatives and involvement by European countries. I had to learn it all in a very short period. I was in Israel for only 3 and a half weeks between France and the United States and they were very intense. I visited plants, I participated in a seminar for heads of delegations. We sat in Qiryat 'Anavim and listened to lectures. We had 3 days of visits in industrial plants, Elsinor and other sophisticated plants, and that was it.

[Question] Who introduced you to the job?

[Answer] The truth is that I already knew the central figures in the Jewish community, since I was consul in New York 20 years ago and I also dealt with the question of Russian Jewry in the UN framework. I knew the American leadership even when I served in Israel, since, as legal adviser between 1971 and 1979, I often dealt with agreements between the United States and Israel and thus I met many American officials. It was easier for me because I was also familiar with the subject matter.

[Question] So what did you find new here?

[Answer] New? The closeness between the United States and Israel. When I left the United States 20 years ago I could not hear a statement that Israel is a strategic resource for the United States. There were those in the administration who maintained that Israel was more of a burden than a resource. Things have changed drastically. I think that it is reflected in the fact that when I arrived here 18 months ago I found that there was strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States.

[Question] Let's talk about your relationships with officials of the administration.

[Answer] The first thing you have to worry about is to achieve the trust of the people with whom you deal. In other words, if there is an official who realizes that 24 hours after talking to you the contents of the conversation are published in the paper, I doubt if on the next occasion that official will show the same kind of trust. In order to maintain this trust, the official has to realize that you know the subject and that the conversation does not take place in order to be leaked to the paper. I think that although there have been leaks here and there, this mutual trust has not been eroded. How can one determine this? It is gauged by the speed with which a meeting can be arranged.

[Question] How long does it take you?

[Answer] When I request a meeting, I obtain it within 24 hours. Obviously there are also the daily contacts.

[Question] With whom, for example?

[Answer] The daily contact is with Assistant Secretary of State Michael Armacost. When Murphy (assistant secretary of state for middle eastern affairs) is about to go there, or is returning from there, I always make it a point to see him, or he gets in touch with me. It happened that on certain issues I talked to the secretary of state and received the details that I wanted. I have met with the secretary of defense quite a few times.

[Question] How often do you meet for a working discussion with someone from the State Department?

[Answer] With the secretary? He invited me for a lunch where there were six of us, three from our side and three Americans. On the average I am at the State Department once or twice a week.

[Question] When you meet with the secretary it is said that you feel as if the weight of the State of Israel is on your shoulders.

[Answer] To begin with the secretary is a very pleasant person, very thorough and very sincere. It does not mean to say that he always agrees with us, but when he does not, he says so. He does not conceal the fact. And these days, when Zionism is put in quotes and is not always dealt with as seriously as it should be, I can tell you with my hand on my heart, I have always felt the enormity of the responsibility on my shoulders. When you talk in the name of the State of Israel you also talk in the name of those who were not lucky enough to live to see a Jewish state and also in the name of those who are yet to follow.

[Question] How does he treat you?

[Answer] He is very pleasant, serious and relations with him are excellent.

[Question] How often do you see him? Talk to him?

[Answer] For example, last week--because of the president's second inauguration--I met him three times, I talked to him, not just greeted him, but more than that.

[Question] And prior to that?

[Answer] I met him for discussion of issues that were on the agenda, usually at my initiative, for half an hour to 45 minutes, in addition to talks held on the occasions of visits by various ministers.

[Question] When do you decide that you want to see him?

[Answer] In recent months there were no extraordinary issues which required immediate attention. Usually I resolve things with Mr Shultz's assistants. Only when it is a matter of principle do I go to him.

[Question] On what issues did you decide that you had to see the secretary of state?

[Answer] When the continuation of the peace process is to be discussed.

[Question] Who are your friends in Washington?

[Answer] I would like you to know, I have many friends.

[Question] But friends, someone to whom you can say, my wife made me angry today.

[Answer] In the first place, my wife has never made me angry. She has been my wife for 26 years. But there are many friends.

[Question] Do you have friends among other diplomats?

[Answer] Yes, many. We receive many visits by new ambassadors. We had excellent friendly relationships with the ambassadors from France, Canada, Norway, Guatemala, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, and all that makes demands on your personal time. I have not mentioned ties with universities. Not long ago I was invited to lecture at Harvard Law School, in addition to a luncheon meeting with the whole Law Faculty at Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Boston University, all in a day and a half.

[Question] Did you try to meet Arab ambassadors other than the Egyptian ambassador?

[Answer] I have met Arab ambassadors on social occasions but I will not discuss it any further.

[Question] Have you had any personal meetings?

[Answer] Once, in the course of a dinner for 10 couples I met them, too, and their approach was very friendly and pleasant, no more.

[Question] One of your good friends was former Egyptian Ambassador Ashraf Ghurbal. Do you feel his absence?

[Answer] First of all, I have known the present ambassador, 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, since Camp David. Two days ago there was a dinner in honor of Mrs al-Sadat to which 60 people were invited. I met him there, too.

[Question] It was written about you that you devote too much time to meetings with Jews.

[Answer] I prefer not to turn a Jew down. It was said about one of my predecessors, who was one of Israel's best ambassadors--Avraham Harman--that he met any Jew who wanted to see him while embassy staffers did not get a chance [to see him]. One employee then set up an appointment--through the secretary--as Rabbi Rottman. Harman told him, "I am sorry, but I am expecting Rabbi Rottman." The employee then said: "I am Rabbi Rottman. I had to see you." I try to not carry it that far...

[Question] Is it not the case here that you are trying to convince those who are already believers?

[Answer] I think that you should not concentrate only on those who agree with you when you know ahead of time that the support of Israel is such that they will always be with you. An Israeli representative should not assume that representing Israel alone buys him that kind of an attitude. On the other hand, you cannot always think as if the whole world is against you because an article not too friendly to Israel was published, and likewise, you cannot think that everyone is on Israel's side. It is very useful to meet those who disagree with us and we do hold such meetings. For example, we had a meeting at the embassy with Harold Saunders and Bill Quandt.

[Question] Does it sometimes happen to you that you think "This is not exactly what I think. They, in Israel, are not on the same wave length as the Americans"?

[Answer] First of all, the duty of any ambassador is to report truthfully. If there is any comment, it should be passed on back home. I do not think that it is the job of the ambassador to convince the Foreign Ministry that the country where he is representing Israel is right, when there is any disagreement. It would be very bad if we had that.

[Question] I am talking to you on a personal level. I assume that there are many subjects with which you yourself do not agree and which you have to argue for Israel. Do you identify 100 percent, without any reservations, with everything that the government does?

[Answer] I think that an Israeli representative who has basic differences with the government should not be an ambassador. Secondly, an ambassador does not have the tools to determine whether a policy is right or wrong. The policies are set at home. For the time being I have not had any problems. I do not think that it is proper for an ambassador to argue with his government--unless he has the know-how. You can only warn that if for some reason Israel makes certain moves, there will be a strong confrontation and please consider it carefully.

[Question] What has to happen to Israeli policies in order for you to say "I cannot represent this view"?

[Answer] A person cannot represent Israel while disagreeing with its policies.

[Question] What Israeli policy may cause you to discontinue your work as ambassador?

[Answer] I cannot see anything that Israel has done, since its establishment, that was so terrible as to cause me to say that.

[Question] If a decision is made tomorrow to withdraw from the territories with nothing in return, or if we have a Kahane government acting according to his philosophy, would that cause you to resign?

[Answer] The question is hypothetical. You know it is not practical. I do not believe in the possibility of these things happening. I do not see it even in my worst dreams.

[Question] Do you have any problems as the ambassador from Israel?

[Answer] I have not had here what happened to me in Europe. When you are at reception and an Arab delegate comes by, the person you are talking to hurries to end the conversation with you. Here the Israeli ambassador is very popular.

[Question] And what is to follow?

[Answer] I think I had an unusual opportunity to serve in Washington. I have never served anywhere with the idea of doing anything else after that. I dealt with the issue of Russian Jewry and I made some contribution toward the exit of 270,000 Jews from the Soviet Union. When I was chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee in the late sixties, I did not do it with the idea of becoming legal adviser for the Foreign Ministry. When the job was given to me I was happy and I did the best I could. I enjoyed the trust of several foreign ministers. I always stated my opinion, even if it caused tension. One day I was offered the ambassadorship to France and later I was offered the job here. I cannot tell you what I am going to do after this. I only think that whoever works for the Israeli Foreign Ministry has to remember whom he is representing. The thought which should guide the ambassador is: What have you done to further Israel's interests?

ISRAEL

STATUS OF GUSH EMUNIM LEADERSHIP EXPLORED

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[Text] "We recognize both the strengths and weaknesses of the media," said Member of Knesset Gershon Shefet smiling at the entrance to the Dahisha refugee camp, where right wing Knesset members had gathered obligingly in support of Rabbi Moshe Levinger. On 4 February Shefet meant that the prominent presence of the media in Dahisha covering the meeting between the politicians and the extremist from Qiryat Arba pointed to the media's weakness. After all, in spite of their being critical of the settlements, by the mere fact of showing up at Dahisha, they were playing into the right wing's hands. Gush Emunim leaders are trying to exploit for their own ends that weakness of the media, the pursuit of events. This is one of the more practical conclusions of the settlers' leadership, which comes at the end of a long internal debate which has been held over recent months. The first sign of this was to become evident the following week in a rather unusual move. Members of the expanded Gush Emunim secretariat were to convene in order to elect Daniela Weiss to the post of general secretary. The move has two political implications. For the first time after a long period of decline in political activity, which reached its peak when the underground was discovered, Gush Emunim is showing signs of recovery. The expected election of Daniela Weiss points to a new direction, intended, among others, to eliminate the budding opposition to Rabbi Levinger, which has grown recently among the hard core of Gush Emunim.

Daniela Weiss' election is considered by leaders of Gush Emunim as a media event of the first degree: a woman leading an ideological political movement is not an everyday occurrence. This is even more so when dealing with a religious political movement, whose leadership includes respected rabbis and heads of rabbinical schools. It is tantamount to a sensation and leaders of Gush Emunim intend to exploit it to its maximum. In their eyes Daniela Weiss (resident of Qedumim, about 40, a mother of four daughters) has additional qualities: she is articulate, knows English well and has a charming appearance which causes respect even among her opponents. The main thing--she is an extremist and full of enthusiasm. The Gush Emunim leadership believes that it will be possible to re-unite the ranks around her. At the same time they hope to draw the fire and criticism away from Rabbi Levinger, the man who, more than anyone else, is identified with the settlements, and some of whose actions have caused the split even within his own camp.

In recent years Gush Emunim was pushed aside by some other organizations, especially the Council of Settlements in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza (YESHA), the supreme political body of settlements in the territories, the Amana, the Gush Emunim settlement movement. These organizations were founded in order to implement the ideology of a whole Land of Israel by means of establishing new settlements.

Unlike Gush Emunim, which ultimately runs on a volunteer basis, YESHA and Amana are implementing frameworks, headed by settlers, who thereby make a living, in addition to accumulating power and influence in the process. Several months ago, especially after the exposure of the underground, it turned out that there was a substantial position gap between the ideologists and those who implement. A rivalry developed, which started threatening the Gush Emunim leadership. The unrest was centered in 'Ofra, near Bet-El (northeast of Ramallah). It is here that four central activists of Gush Emunim live, who also hold central leadership posts: Isra'el Har'el, chairman of YESHA and the editor of the publication NEQUDA; Uri Elitzur, Amana's general secretary; Pinhas Valershtein, chairman of the Binyamin regional council; and Rabbi Yo'el Bin-Nun, a teacher and educator.

Internal Unrest

Did everyday reality and the need to compromise with it moderate the four, or was there an expression of non-reconciliation with Gush Emunim's direction, the underground being only one of its results? Opposition leaders think that there are several factors. The YESHA council is a political body, representing most of the settlements in the territories, among them most of the Alignment settlements in the Jordan Valley. It is not an organization trying to propose ideological solutions, but it is intended to resolve practical matters, such as water and land problems, contacts with the military authorities, and, if necessary, even the establishment of a lobby for the purpose of exerting political pressure. This is how cooperation was formed among Gush Emunim, the Alignment, the NRP and BETAR settlements. The YESHA council, being a democratic entity, is more exposed to external influence on the one hand, and more dependent on outside (financial) resources, on the other hand. It is only natural that the economic campaigns are headed by doers. Considering the present economic situation, and following the establishment of the unity government, the Gush Emunim settlements, more so than in the past, need the assistance of Alignment settlements in order to exert pressure on Agriculture Minister Arik Nehamkin, a Labor man.

There are also new winds in Amana, the Gush Emunim settlement arm. Cooperation with other settlement movements such as TAKAM and BETAR, has strengthened. Typical is the establishment of Rafi'ah-Yam. Its members asked to join Aman. Uri Elitzur, the general secretary, pressured them to join the Moshav Movement. For political considerations he was willing to give up an additional settlement, which otherwise means more reputation and more influence. He wanted to increase the involvement of the Moshav Movement in settlements in the territories, especially the commitment of the agriculture minister, a Moshav Movement member from Nahalal.

The sense of power of those heading the economic campaigns--all central figures of Gush Emunim from its very inception--came to light with the debate which followed the exposure of the underground. Very difficult questions came up, questions which went right down to the basis of the existence of Gush Emunim: Who is the ultimate authority in the country and are central figures in the movement entitled to take the law into their hands?

Rabbi Levinger succeeded in arousing central figures in Gush Emunim because of his reaction to the apprehension of the underground movement. His statements were interpreted as supporting the underground members (among them his son-in-law) and blaming the government (according to his logic its irresponsibility in maintaining security in the territories) for the establishment of the underground. Levinger's position caused even Hanan Porat, who was a member of the Knesset at that time, to join the opposition against him. In the heat of one of the debates between the two Porat told Levinger "Please part ways with me."

Phone Call to Sharon

Levinger's isolation in the first months following the exposure of the underground totally paralyzed Gush Emunim. His decision to demonstrate in front of Dahisha is interpreted by some of the more practical members in Gush Emunim's leadership as a political move, intended to return him to his prestigious position as the Gush leader. At the same time there have been attempts to renew the debate in the expanded secretariat of Gush Emunim in order to learn some lessons from the underground incident. Two major subjects surfaced in these debates. The first one--how should Gush Emunim relate to everyday security issues in the territories. The second--a reordering of priorities for Gush Emunim. The most dramatic conclusion was that settlement in Judaea and Samaria, the highest priority item for Gush Emunim up to now, is no longer that.

The main complaint heard in the debate on security matters was that the government is not doing enough to locate the inciters to rock throwing and disruption of life in the territories. Leaders of Gush Emunim say that the security authorities have the list of the inciters and that their apprehension is only a matter of a political decision. On the previous week, with the return of Sharon from the United States, one of Gush Emunim's leaders had a phone conversation with him. In it he reported to the minister that the Gush decision was to work for the expulsion of the inciters. Sharon adopted this position and even proposed it at the coalition's meeting. The demand to expel the inciters today unites Gush Emunim and the YESHA council. The implementation of this demand is regarded by Gush Emunim as the way to recover internal peace, since that will entail unity around another issue--not to take any independent moves on security matters. Beni Katzover (of Elon Moreh) stresses that the mere debate on the question in Gush Emunim is intended to prevent more phenomena like the underground.

Another issue related to security surfaced in the debate: the legal treatment of murderers for terrorist reasons. It was unanimously agreed to demand the death penalty for terrorists convicted of murder. "Those who pity cruel people end up being cruel to those who pity," quoted Hanan Porat. Yet, for public relations considerations, the Gush Emunim leaders preferred not to formalize a position paper on this question. In today's reality, a demand for a death penalty may be interpreted as a desire for revenge or a sign of cruelty.

Secondary Settlement

The second issue, and perhaps the most interesting one, is the change of priorities for Gush Emunim. After an almost 10 year struggle the Gush Emunim leaders agreed that the preoccupation with settlements is not sufficient. The establishment of settlements and even the bringing in of several tens of thousands of Jews for settlement purposes in Judaea and Samaria are not enough to ensure Israel's holding on to these territories. The main conclusion, and perhaps the only one, is enlisting support for the idea of a whole Land of Israel among the people. Moderate members among leaders of Gush Emunim were also part of this position. They maintained that it was impossible to carry on the settlement while creating an alienation of the Jewish people both in Israel and abroad. The election of Daniela Weiss as general secretary of Gush Emunim is intended, among others, to annul the immediate opposition of vast segments of the public to it, an opposition, it is thought, which stems out of Rabbi Levinger's controversial image. The flag which Gush Emunim will try to raise in the near future will be that of education and public relations, and the thrust of the effort will be for a dialogue with the public. The motto which was created in the course of the debate is "conquer hearts, not land."

While the internal debate in Gush Emunim is going on, Levinger decided on his own to start a demonstration in front of the Dahisha camp. The Qiryat Arba council agreed to finance the rental of vehicles. Everyone is of the opinion that the act rehabilitated Levinger's image. The man who was left out following the exposure of the underground has become a center for pilgrimage of settlers and other citizens from all parts of the country. The media's interest around him was but a measure of his success.

The action renewed, so it turns out, the activity of several concerns who oppose Levinger and his ways. In private conversation some activists in Gush Emunim accuse the rabbi of distorting the security issue in Judaea and Samaria. The fact is that terrorist activities against Jews are carried on from both sides of the Green Line. Soldiers are kidnapped and murdered, women are raped and murdered, there is rock throwing in the Negev and the Galilee. The issue of terrorism is not unique to Judaea and Samaria and the expulsion of citizens whom Rabbi Levinger considers as inciters will not resolve the problem. Other inciters will follow. Some maintain that Levinger's demonstration at Dahisha was intended to

rehabilitate his position within Gush Emunim, and that he thereby caused serious damage to the cause for which he is supposedly fighting.

Levinger has made this refugee camp, on the way from Bethlehem to Hebron, a center of world interest. Even if the government wants to expel the inciters, the media will do the work for the PLO and thus will prevent any action. "He who sows wind will reap a storm," says a man who is considered to be a spiritual authority in Gush Emunim. Levinger is frightening the Jewish people, whom he is trying to keep calm. He is torpedoing the new move of Gush Emunim to go to the people and convince them that the whole Land of Israel is theirs.

Levinger himself is worried about two developments. He wants to head off new outbreaks of Jewish terrorism which may happen because of the government's inaction on the issue of security in the territories. In addition he is worried that lack of initiative may result in the loss of restive and activist youths to Rabbi Kahane.

Rabbi Levinger's calculations are not known, not even to many of Gush Emunim's leaders. His opponents are waiting and are watching his struggle. Once, under the Alignment, in the years of the struggle over Sebastia, Levinger twisted the arm of the government under Rabin and Peres. This time, too, he is pitching his power against the same two men, and the background for his action is his desire to resume his position as leader of the settlers in the territories.

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ISRAEL

IDF ORDER CANCELLATION THREATENS ARMAMENTS AUTHORITY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by Ya'acov Friedler]

[Text]

HAIFA. - The Defence Ministry's armaments development authority, Rafael, has decided to fire 1,100 employees, 150 immediately, following cancellation of orders by the Israel Defence Forces due to budget constraints.

A spokesman for the Rafael works committees told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that they would fight the dismissals, but had not yet decided how. Most of those facing dismissal live in the Haifa area, which is already suffering unemployment.

Rafael's general manager, Dr. Ze'ev Bonen, informed the committees that 150 of the employees must go within a month and the rest on April 1. He explained that the orders were cancelled at such short notice that the authority had been unable to replace them with overseas contracts.

The spokesman for the committees stressed that the previous defence minister, Moshe Arens, had shortly before he left the post transferred a big project, involving 500

employees, to the Israel Aircraft Industry on the grounds that Rafael enjoyed over-employment while the IAI lacked sufficient work.

The committees suggest that the ministry now return the project to Rafael and thus save approximately half of the dismissals.

The committees contend that the dismissal of 1,100 employees, many with invaluable experience, would constitute a grave loss to Rafael, because it would take years for the remaining workers to acquire the necessary technological expertise.

The move, it was said, would also cause long-term harm to Israel's security, as Rafael does a lot of long-term development work.

The committees noted that the IDF generally procures products that Rafael develops on its own initiative after they have been proved effective. Moreover, Rafael concentrates on armaments that Israel is unable to procure abroad, and the drastic reduction of staff would inevitably harm the IDF's fighting capabilities in any future confrontations with Arab armies.

CSO: 4400/92

ISRAEL

CLAL EXPECTS EXPORT RISE

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 11 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Macabee Dean]

[Text]

TEL AVIV. - Clal's industrial division expects to increase its exports by 45 per cent during the current year, to \$399 million, Amos Mar-Haim, managing director of the division, said recently in outlining the work programme for 1985.

Mar-Haim said that the increase, which would be directed mainly towards the American market, would thus be similar to the 45 per cent increase in 1984.

In reviewing expected economic conditions in Israel during the rest of the year, he said that "despite the

uncertainties in obtaining investments and the uncertain economic conditions in the country, the industrial division is planning to increase its output by about 9 per cent."

Nearly all the increased output will be aimed at export markets, since it is expected that local private and public purchases will drop. The division expects its local sales to fall by about 5 per cent in 1985, to \$480 million. But a 5 per cent increase in sales to the defence establishment was also envisaged, and this is expected to increase sales here to \$57m.

Increased exports will require that

the division increase its manpower by 250 per cent, to 12,400. Most of the new workers would be employed by Ordan, Scitex and Israel Electronics.

Mar-Haim also pointed out that Clal was going ahead with its plans although the government has not yet announced its intentions regarding aid to exporters. The manufacturers want their profitability assured through lower taxes or by means of cheap credits.

Investments are expected to increase by 57 per cent to \$82m., while R & D expenditures will increase by 26 per cent, to \$27m.

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ISRAEL

UNEMPLOYMENT HURTS NEGEV TOWN

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 25 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by Ilan Chaim: "'Ashamed To Say I'm From Yeroham'"]

[Text]

THERE ARE two main meeting places for the jobless in Yeroham. The official one is the local employment office, where hundreds of the town's estimated 700 jobless come daily to apply for unemployment compensation, register for jobs and to seek counselling. The second location - unofficial, but regularly well attended - is the local snooker parlour.

There the jobless - predominantly young men in their early twenties - gather to play a rudimentary type of billiards on an aging table, whose faded green felt top is patched with black plastic tape over about a third of its scarred surface. There are also seven ancient, broken down pinball machines. There is always a crowd. The place opens at 8 a.m. and stays open until late at night.

The young men are usually referred to in official statistics as demobilized soldiers. That they are no longer mobile is evident - they seem to be stuck as if in some time warp in Israel's wilderness: the Negev. Not the blooming desert of the nearby Sde Boker, but a forgotten corner of that wilderness. For the moment, they are people going nowhere in a tiny town headed in the same direction. Many of them have been looking for work for more than a year.

Aharon is one of them. A native of Yeroham, he lives at home with his parents. They are the only reason he remains in the town, he says.

That, and also because he loves his birthplace. But he is nearing desperation. He has been looking for regular work ever since he was demobilized some 18 months ago.

The Israel Defence Forces taught Aharon to drive a semi-trailer, the biggest truck on the road. There should be lots of jobs for a well-trained driver with a clean record, like Aharon: in the Dead Sea Works, or the phosphate plant, or the bromide plant. Instead, the last job Aharon was offered at a local factory was cleaning the floor.

"I WOULDN'T MIND sweeping the floor," says Aharon, "but they offered me IS90,000 a month, not including transport." Without a car or regular bus service, it would be very difficult to travel from Yeroham to and from the plant. "Besides, I get more than that on unemployment," he adds.

"Something's got to change," says Yitzhak outside the snooker parlour. "I come here from the employment office. The only reason I get up in the morning is to go to the employment office. And they've got nothing for me." Yitzhak is an IDF-trained heavy equipment operator and has been looking for a job since he was demobilized two years ago. He doesn't mind working for IS90,000 and did so as a tractor driver for several months - as long as the job lasted. "I don't care what the salary

is," he says. "I want to work. I want to earn a living."

Assi Arama is an unemployed ex-policeman who settled in Yeroham in 1980. He claims he has not been able to find suitable work since losing his job due to a traffic accident, for which he was found criminally negligent and served four months in prison. Two months ago Arama decided it was time to do something about his situation and that of his fellow jobless. He organized the Committee to Save Yeroham.

The 12-member group has become an activist lobby for Yeroham's unemployed. Some two weeks ago, Arama represented his informal constituency before the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee. Jobs are the only thing that can save Yeroham, he declared. At the same committee meeting were representatives of prominent Negev industries, who promised to take on immediately about 70 Yeroham job seekers.

But of the 24 workers the bromide plant committed itself to hire, two are employed today. Of the 15 semi-trailer drivers promised immediate employment, six have been interviewed and promised - a second interview. The phosphate plant told the Knesset committee it would hire 29 men - eight have been interviewed, and none employed.

THERE HAVE BEEN other promises. The Capital Investment Committee, headed by Deputy Finance Minister Adiel Amora'i, released \$68 million in frozen investment money over the past two months to help rehabilitate 163 faltering industries nationwide, many of them in development towns. Such news makes little impression on a group of young men gathered around a table at Aliza's cafe in Yeroham's "downtown" – a nearly desolate commercial plaza, whose busiest enterprise is the town's lone bank, a branch of Bank Hapoalim.

The town centre is a large open square around an amorphous modern sculpture, lined on its sides with about 30 storefronts, about a dozen of which are in use. One of the two small cafes that remain open in this town of some 6,300 residents is the milk bar opened in 1965 by Yosef Haski, who proudly claims it is the oldest such establishment in town.

Haski, a slight moustached man in his sixties, stood before prominently displayed colour pictures of Ariel Sharon, Menachem Begin and David Levy, and declared he had only one thing to say: "I'm fed up with you journalists. You only destroy and distort things. Let the reality speak for itself. This place would be an oasis if only there were some decent human relations." As if to prove his point, Haski turned away to serve a young Yerohamite; but only after insisting the child say "please."

The theme of Yeroham's bad press was echoed next door, by one of the patrons of Aliza's cafe. "There's not a person in this town who hasn't been interviewed by some journalist," says Ya'acov, an unemployed truck driver. "It's just bad publicity for the town and doesn't do any good." Asked if he had heard of the Amora'i committee's plans, Ya'acov replied bitterly: "We've heard it before. Bring factories here – there's a work force. But we've been hearing for four years about the beer factory that's supposed to move here and employ

100 workers – where is it? I went to Tel Aviv last week and was ashamed to say I'm from Yeroham."

Yitzhak, the jobless tractor driver who is willing to work for IS90,000 if he can find work, was a counsellor in a Histadrut youth club before he went into the army. He is bitter because the club had to close two years ago for lack of money. "Sixty per cent of the kids in my old club are in jail," he claims. "The only solution for the youth is to leave."

MANY DO, but some can't. Rahel Peretz, 22, stayed behind to help her younger sister care for their father, who lost his job of 16 years with the phosphate plant after suffering a heart attack. Yehoshua Peretz is waiting for the hospital crisis to end so he can have his promised heart surgery, which has twice been postponed.

Rahel, a former clerk in the IDF Adjutancy Corps, reports regularly to the employment office, where her best offer has been a part-time cleaning job paying IS20,000 a month. She would leave if she could and go north, with little apparent regret: "There's no future here," she declares. "They should move the people out and make it into an army base."

But there are some who aren't ready to give Yeroham up to the army or back to the desert. One is Lea Shakdiel, a native Jerusalemite who moved with her husband and children to the town in 1978. A member of the town council executive, Shakdiel is a self-defined *halutzit* who also teaches Jewish history at the "open university" affiliated with the local Ramat Hanegev College.

"The problem with Yeroham since it was founded in 1951 is that it's never been economically independent. It's a town that exists on welfare, on handouts. And the help Yeroham gets doesn't lead to independence, just deeper dependence."

The answer for Yeroham – which she sees as a microcosm of the entire country – is high technology indus-

try, which would attract talented people from outside and create civic pride among local residents, who would at last have something productive to do.

THE HIGH TECH theme is shared by Haim Morak, the director of economic development for the local Project Renewal. Morak is sceptical of government investment promises and spends much of his time looking for foreign investors to help establish local high tech industry. He describes Yeroham's problem as a "frustration gap" – a dismal area located where expectations have reached the level of available opportunities.

Morad conducted an intensive employment survey for Project Renewal that found twice the number of actual jobless – 700 – than listed in the official State Employment Service statistics. In the prime 18-35 year old age group, he found the jobless rate to be more than 50 per cent.

A few factories could wipe out Yeroham's chronic unemployment problem. The influx of a high tech industry or two could inject a stimulating core of new people and perhaps catalyse a modest revolution of rising expectations – and achievement. But the IDF has withdrawn from the Sinai, and Yeroham has not become the new metropolis of the Negev – and it probably never will.

A random sampling of opinion about the prime minister's announced intention to move major industries to the Negev over the next 10 years found that Yeroham residents do not take the idea seriously enough to scoff at it.

Yeroham will probably always be a small town in the Negev. Another question is when will more of its people be able to be proud of living there. Times are bad and people there, in the words of one grocer, are "just holding on. Bread and milk, that's all people are buying today." Another grocer says: "Half a bread and a bag of milk," showing me his

unsold stock. "I'm an old man," he adds, "and I swear to God I haven't sold a bottle of arak in a month. And this is a Moroccan neighbourhood."

The prominent road signs on Yeroham's well marked main street direct the visitor to all the main points of interest, including what is euphemistically called the Lake Park. A stone dam several metres thick across a large wadi just outside the town traps rainwater for a seasonal lake. In better years, there were enough fish in the lake to tempt certain unscrupulous fishermen to extract their catch using explosives.

But this is a dry season. The lake bed extends cracked and arid. Assi Arama thinks the "lake" should be developed for tourism.

But there is no lake. I point out, there is no rain. "There *should* be rain," he replies, with a plaint somehow characteristic of Yeroham. "They should bring water."

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ISRAEL

BRIEFS

LANGUAGE STATISTICS--Hebrew is the primary or sole language spoken daily by 83 percent of the Jewish population aged 15 and over--while 9 percent use it daily as a second language, it was reported yesterday. Among non-Jews, 95 percent speak Arabic as their main language, according to the 1983 census just released by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The overwhelming majority of Jews speaking Hebrew as their first language compares with 77.5 and 67 percent, respectively, with the 1972 and 1961 census figures. Among the non-Jewish population, the number of those speaking Arabic as their main language has remained stable. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 Jan 85 p 2]

DROUGHT THREAT TO SHEEP--Beersheba--The lack of rain in the Negev for the second consecutive year is worrying the Green Patrol, which is charged with finding grazing areas for Beduin sheep during dry spells. Alon Galili, the Green Patrol's commander, said that whereas last year the Beduin and their flocks were taken as far north as Jerusalem to find grazing, this year the central region is as dry as the southern one. "I don't know what we'll do if it doesn't rain soon," he said. The Negev has received only minimal precipitation this winter. In 1978, when Ariel Sharon was agriculture minister, it was decided to register all Beduin flocks. Eighty thousand sheep were registered with the authorities, who promised to help the Beduin preserve them even in difficult times, so long as they obey grazing laws. During the winter, the sheep graze close to home, but by spring they are taken to open pasture, where problems may then arise, Galili said. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 24 Jan 85 p 3]

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JORDAN

ARMS SOURCES DIVERSIFICATION POLICY EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 248, 10-16 Nov 84 pp 31-34

[Article by Muhammad 'Ali Qasim: "Detailed Figures on Jordanian Armament. Jordan: New Armament Agreements To Confront Sharon's Plan. Has Jordan Succeeded in the Game of Embarrassing Washington Through Moscow?"]

[Text] For a few weeks now, the Jordanian capital has been witnessing large-scale diplomatic activity rarely known to it in the past. The recent Jordanian decision to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt was followed by a visit made to Amman by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. It was the first state visit of its kind made by an Egyptian president to an Arab capital following the signing of the Camp David agreements with Israel. This was followed by a visit made by Charles Hernu, the French defense minister, during which he met with Jordanian military commanders and political leaders. This was the second visit which the French defense minister made to Jordan within a few weeks, which endowed the talks which Hernu held in Amman with an importance of an exceptional nature.

Hardly had Hernu left Amman than Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, arrived on a brief visit which, it was said, had not been scheduled within the program of the tour which brought him to the Middle East area, and which took him to both Cairo and occupied Jerusalem. Naturally, Weinberger's visit to Jordan and its special circumstances aroused an interest which led many observers to engage in an attempt aimed at inferring the objectives of the visit and the results which it might possibly have produced.

The matter did not stop at this limit. On the contrary, the French defense minister and the U.S. defense secretary were quickly followed to Amman by their British counterpart, Michael Heseltine, who stayed in Jordan about a week, during which he shuttled between Aqabah and Amman. Meanwhile, Heseltine met with King Husayn and senior commanders of the Jordanian armed forces. He also inspected a number of units and formations of the aforementioned forces, particularly those units and formations supplied with British-made arms and equipment.

All these successive developments came amid increasing speculation about the visit which the Jordanian monarch was expected to make to the Soviet capital--a visit which is supposed to be made within the coming few weeks. Interest

is aroused in this respect by the fact that the discussions which King Husayn will hold during his stay in Moscow will deal basically with matters connected with the likelihood of Jordan acquiring new and sophisticated types of Soviet arms. Consequently, these talks will complete those which were held last fall by a high level Jordanian military delegation headed by Lt Gen al-Sharif Zayd ibn Shakir, the commander in chief of the Jordanian armed forces. The information available about these talks at that time said that, during the talks, the two sides reached an agreement in principle on the types and quantities of the Soviet arms required [by Jordan] and on their cost. The information also said that the matter no longer required anything other than ratifying the agreement and signing it finally. This is what is supposed to take place at the meeting which is expected to be held between King Husayn and Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko.

Larger Than a Deal

However, it can be said in this respect that the matter is no longer confined to just being one of concluding an armament deal between Jordan and the Soviet Union (despite the special importance which this step enjoys, and despite the dimensions which it might possibly assume and the evidence which it might possibly furnish), but the matter comes within a much wider and considerably more comprehensive context. Actually, the topic under discussion at this point is the whole Jordanian armament file. This practically signifies that the relevant decisions, which the Jordanian command will make within the coming few weeks and months will tend to impact directly, with a large measure of vitality, on the entire future image of Jordan's military power, and even on the state of this power until the end of this century, and at least until the beginnings of the coming century.

It is now an established fact that the opening of the Jordanian armament file in this manner has made Amman the stage for a heated competition which may be the first of its kind in the world. There has never before now been a competition for winning the expected armament deals with the third world countries, such as Jordan, among all the arms producing great world powers, beginning with Britain and France and culminating with the Soviet Union, let alone the United States itself. Exactly from this premise, it is possible to interpret the noticeable successive movements of defense ministers of international caliber from and to Amman, as well as the distinctive interest which all the observer quarters now take in the movements of Jordanian political and military officials. The first question which these quarters now ask themselves is: Where will the Jordanian choice settle, in view of the extensive shuffling of cards and alliances which this choice will entail at the regional and international levels?

It might be necessary at this point to go back a little to try to explain the reasons of this sudden interest in the issue of Jordan's armament. It may be that the optimum point at which one could begin this explanation is the past spring of this year. At that time, President Ronald Reagan's administration, in a sudden step without logical justification, decided to revoke an agreement which had been concluded earlier between Washington and Amman. This agreement provided for supplying Jordan with a number of Stinger shoulder-fired antiaircraft rockets.

Under the agreement, the Jordanian army was supposed to receive 1,600 Stinger missiles and 400 launchers. The surprising aspect of the U.S. administration's decision to cancel the deal is that it did not have any exceptional nature, in addition to the fact that the U.S. administration's decision was made without any prelude. At any rate, Stinger missiles are not the kind of sophisticated or sensitive arms worth embarking on a major political and diplomatic crisis between Washington and a country about which it can at least be said--from the U.S. standpoint--that it is friendly and moderate, and that supplying this state with its legitimate defense needs would not endanger U.S. interests in the Arab area. In fact, these missiles are nothing more than an improved version of the U.S. Redeye shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles. The latter missiles are now in service on a large scale in the Jordanian armed forces and in those of a number of Middle Eastern countries, including Israel. Stinger missiles are of characteristic standards which make them more effective than the aforesaid Redeye missiles (which, so far as their effectiveness and technological standard are concerned, are equivalent to the famous Soviet Sam-7 missiles). Consequently, Jordan's need for the new missiles was very logical because it stemmed from the principle of the necessity of updating Jordan's arms arsenal by replacing all the obsolescent arms with more modern and effective arms. From this perspective, Jordan's application for 1,600 Stinger missiles and 400 launchers emanated from the need for replacing 1,500 Redeye rockets and 300 launchers, now in service in the Jordanian army, with the Stinger missiles and launchers. It is needless to say that missiles of this type are considered purely defensive arms because they have no value as offensive arms. Furthermore, the objective behind these arms is to supply the land forces with minimum protection from enemy air attacks within a very limited geographical framework, because the range of these missiles is not greater than 3 kilometers and they are effective only against low flying aircraft--at short distances and at subsonic speed.

It was natural for the U.S. decision to spark off feelings of anger and wrath in the Jordanian command, which found absolutely no justification for this decision other than the U.S. administration's total submission to the pressure put on it by Israel and the pro-Israeli quarters in Washington. This pressure was practically responsible for President Ronald Reagan's going back on the agreement and revoking unilaterally the implementation of its provisions, without any prior consultation with the other side directly concerned with the subject.

Despite the shock which was generated by Washington's backtracking on its obligations in connection with this deal, this decision in itself was not sufficient for giving the subject of Jordanian armament all its dimensions, had it not come as yet another link in a long chain of recurring U.S. backtracking and refusals over many years and under two successive administrations about everything connected with fulfilling Jordan's defense requirements, regardless of their nature and size. This series of refusals resulted in continuing frustration for Amman over its armament relationship with Washington. In view of this frustration, Amman found no solution other than resorting successively to procuring its armament requirements through alternative international sources.

Rejection of Other Weapons

In the mid seventies, President Jimmy Carter's administration refused to supply Jordan with self-propelled antiaircraft Hawk missiles, insisting in return on selling Amman the immovable type of the aforesaid missiles, which make these [missile] batteries directly vulnerable to hostile aerial attacks. Washington at that time justified its refusal to sell Jordan the self-propelled missiles on the grounds that these latter missiles "are offensive arms which will endanger Israel's security." Naturally, such a justification was indeed ridiculous. At that time, all observers wondered how it could be logical that arms, such as antiaircraft missiles, which are originally regarded as a purely defensive system in view of their being basically designed for carrying out air defense tasks against aerial missions possibly contemplated by a hostile party, could be considered an offensive weapon designed for perpetrating acts of aggression against this [hostile] party. Anyway, it was obvious to all that the U.S. refusal to supply the Jordanian army with the required missiles, which it direly needed at that time, came as a direct result of Washington's submission to the pressure put by Israel, which has grown accustomed to launching boisterous campaigns against the likelihood of an Arab party acquiring new U.S.-built weapons, regardless of the nature of these weapons and of the objectives behind their use.

The U.S. stance was almost literally repeated when the Carter administration, before the 1980 presidential election, refused to approve a Jordanian application for 200 M-60 tanks intended for the modernization of the Jordanian armored forces. In return, the Carter administration deemed it proper to supply Jordan with only 100 tanks on the grounds that this number "is enough for fulfilling Jordan's needs."

As a third instance of U.S. intransigence, it is also possible to cite the fact of Washington's refusal, following President Reagan's election, of a Jordanian application for the updating of its air forces. In fact, this application was made to the new administration in the hope that some change might have occurred in U.S. policy toward the area. On this basis, Amman at that time resubmitted a list of its requirements to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, including in the list what Amman had originally desired to acquire, that is, self-propelled Hawk missiles and F-16 Falcon fighters, which were needed for replacing obsolescent F-14 Starfighters at that time in service with the Jordanian air force. Again, the United States refused to approve either of these two applications in a step which, at that time, aroused a great deal of information media clamor and a political strain in the Amman-Washington relationship.

The Jordanian practical reactions to these U.S. stances were similar. On the one hand, Amman carefully avoided engaging in futile media vituperations with the U.S. administration, while the Jordanian command, on the other hand, did what was required to procure the arms and equipment needed by its forces through other sources that made the command dispense with the need to depend fully on U.S. arms. In the early eighties, the Jordanian army acquired 278 British-built Chieftain tanks, in a deal worth approximately \$350 million, instead of the U.S. M-60 tanks. At about the same time, Amman concluded a

deal with France in which the Jordanian air force took delivery of 36 French-built Mirage F-1 fighters, which were sufficient for replacing the obsolete Starfighters and for reinforcing the capabilities of the aforesaid service in a noticeable manner. Furthermore, the steps which were taken by the Jordanian command at that time in reply to the U.S. refusal included a decision unprecedented in the history of Jordan's armament relations, when the command turned to the Soviet Union as a source for supplying the Jordanian army with anti-aircraft missiles. The result was that, in 1981, the first arms deal was signed between Amman and Moscow and it was worth approximately \$200 million. This deal led to the Jordanian forces' taking delivery of the first mobile air defense system to enter service with these forces. This system comprised 20 batteries of radar-operated Sam-8 missiles carried on armored transporters. These are modern missiles designed for engaging low flying aircraft with supersonic speed, in addition to 16 self-propelled "Z.S.U.-23" antiaircraft guns (known by the name of "Shilka"). These guns are also carried on armored transporters; they have four barrels and are radar-operated. It is worth mentioning in this respect that Jordan was practically the first Arab country which Moscow agreed to supply in the early eighties with sophisticated Sam-8 missiles.

The Jordanian answer to the recent U.S. stance, represented by the refusal to supply Jordan with Stinger missiles, was similar in its general political context to Amman's traditional method of tackling such matters. The Jordanian command dealt with marked calm, in both the diplomatic and information fields, with the step which President Reagan's administration had taken. Meanwhile, Amman quickly studied the possibilities for procuring its requirements through the available international alternatives. In fact, the events of the past weeks and months have proved that such alternatives are available and that they are even ready to compete, not only for clinching the missiles deal, but also for clinching a set of deals for which the Jordanian armed forces are expected to sign contracts in the near future within the framework of a comprehensive program which this command is now implementing for the purpose of boosting its defensive capabilities in the future.

Present Requirements

According to the information available, the Jordanian priorities now center on a group of basic domains, to wit:

--Updating the combat air force through the acquisition of a new type of multipurpose fighter aircraft with which to replace the F-5 Tiger aircraft now in service with the Jordanian air force. Within a short time, that is, no later than the second half of this decade, the Tiger aircraft will become obsolete and it will become imperative to take them out of frontline service.

--Completing the process of building and developing the Jordanian air defense system by procuring more self-propelled antiaircraft missile batteries capable of covering all altitudes and distances to deploy them beside the mobile Sam-8 batteries and the immovable Hawk batteries now in service with the Jordanian army.

--Supplying the Jordanian land units with an "air point defense system," that is, with a new type of shoulder-fired antiaircraft missile, for the purpose of replacing the Redeye missiles which have been in service for this purpose for many years in the Jordanian arsenal.

It is clear that the implementation of such a multifaceted program of necessity signifies the signing of several deals, each valued at several hundred million dollars. Therefore, it has not been surprising that Britain, France and the Soviet Union, and even the United States itself, hastily tried to win what could be won from among these deals.

Well-informed sources say that the likelihood of Jordan choosing its new and expected weapons still depends on Moscow up to this time. It has been learned that Moscow has informed the Jordanian command that it is ready to approve any applications which the Jordanian command might decide to submit in this regard. According to these sources, the Soviets have offered to supply the Jordanian army with more Sam-8 missiles, in addition to a number of Sam-11 missile batteries, which are new missiles that entered service in the Soviet Union a few years ago, and only Syria has taken delivery of them up to this time. The importance of these missiles lies in the fact that they are designed for action [against aircraft flying] at various altitudes and with various speeds. Furthermore, they are transported on fast armored transporters. Unconfirmed information also indicates that Moscow might be prepared to supply Amman with the latest antiaircraft missiles which it has produced, that is, shoulder-fired Sam-14 missiles, which constitute the Soviet reply to the U.S.-built Stinger missiles.

The British and French in the Field

Facing these undoubtedly enticing Soviet offers, the British and the French are competing on their side for winning the potential Jordanian applications, or at least some of them. The information available in this respect is, naturally, clearer and more detailed than the information which has been received about the expected Amman-Moscow agreement. It has become an established fact that Charles Hernu, the French defense minister, has informed the Jordanian officials of his country's immediate readiness to sign a binding contract to implement a program for the modernization of the Jordanian air force by supplying it with 60 sophisticated Mirage 2000 fighter aircraft. He also offered to sell the Jordanian army the new antiaircraft missile, known by the name Mistral, which the French MATRA Company is now developing. In turn, this missile is regarded as the equivalent of the U.S.-made Stinger missile, while the Mirage-2000 aircraft is regarded as none other than the French answer to the U.S. F-16 Falcon fighter aircraft, which Jordan originally desired to acquire.

On his part, during his recent visit to Amman, Michael Heseltine, the British defense minister, sought to convince the Jordanian officials of continuing the close relationship which has long since bound the British and Jordanian military establishments together. The offers which the British defense minister brought with him included a proposal to supply the Jordanian air force with the Tornado fighter aircraft, which is now being manufactured for the

British, German [FRG] and Italian air forces. Additionally, there was another offer to supply the Jordanian army with 1,500 antiaircraft Blowpipe shoulder missiles, which the British forces used to effect in the Falklands war against Argentinian aircraft. Other information states that Heseltine also offered to Jordan the possibility of selling it anti-aircraft shoulder-fired missiles, known by the name Javelin. It is worth noting that the British regard this missile, which is still being tested and developed up to this time, more effective and efficient than the Stinger missile.

Amid this pitched competition, the United States has reappeared on the scene through the brief visit which Defense Secretary Weinberger made to Amman during which he requested the Jordanian officials, according to information recently received from reliable sources in London, to take time before making any final decisions on the arms deals for which they intend to sign contracts. According to these sources, Weinberger informed the Jordanian monarch that the United States will be fully prepared--as soon as the presidential election, in which President Ronald Reagan is expected to be reelected for another term of office, ends--"to study Jordan's applications for arms and to endorse whatever can be approved from among these applications." Information also indicates that the U.S. secretary [of defense] reiterated to the Jordanian side his country's readiness to supply Jordan with new F-20 Tiger Shark fighters, a sophisticated version of the G-5 Tiger fighter aircraft which Washington intends to manufacture especially for export to the Third World countries. However, up to this time, the nature of the Jordanian reply to this U.S. offer has not become clear, bearing in mind that Amman had previously rejected a similar U.S. offer--made by the Reagan Administration about 2 years ago--to supply Amman with this aircraft, preferring in return to acquire the F-16 Falcon fighter aircraft, or its equivalent available in the range of the present generation of fighter aircraft of international standards.

At any rate, the episodes of this matter have not ended yet. The expected Jordanian decisions have not yet been made, and eyes have now been turned toward Moscow, while waiting for a date to be set for King Husayn's scheduled visit there, and also while trying to learn about the results which this visit will produce. Meanwhile, a long list of people--beginning in London and passing through Paris on the way to the White House in Washington--will be waiting eagerly to learn the fate of the arms requested by Jordan and to pinpoint their potential source.

12839

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27 March 1985

KUWAIT

CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR DISCUSSES BANKS' 1984 PERFORMANCE

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 6 Feb 85 p 13

[Article: "Banks' Performance Results for Last Year Positive, Profits Satisfactory"]

[Text] The governor of the Kuwaiti Central Bank, 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Tamar, described the results of last year's operations for all banks as positive and said that profits had been earned at satisfactory rates.

The governor of the Kuwaiti Central Bank, in a special interview conducted with him by the Kuwaiti News Agency, referred to the fact that due to the circumstances through which the Kuwaiti economy was passing, as a result of the legacy of the securities market crisis, in terms of direct and indirect effects on the local economic situation, and as a result of the instability in economic and financial situations, since the first part of 1984, the bank has worked to guide the banks in order to demonstrate more concern for the administration of their loans and various investment portfolios, by subjecting them to full examination and detailed analysis. This is for the purpose of reassurance as to the soundness of the loan conditions, the investment portfolios and the profits derived therefrom.

Al-Tamar added that naturally the Central Bank would add its guidance to the actual examination of the loan conditions and the banks' investment portfolios. In the middle of 1984, the Central Bank began to request specific information, especially selected for each bank. This was then strengthened by requests for detailed and comprehensive data about all other loans and investment portfolios, combined with the banks' evaluation of these portfolios.

The Central Bank received this information and data at the end of last year; this requires some time to conduct the examinations. During the investigations and analyses, conducted by the Central Bank, there was a need for many referrals with the banks, in order to clarify and confirm. When the situation became clear to the Central Bank, it began to inform the banks of their financial results continuously.

The Central Bank's purpose was to investigate the true financial situations of the banks and to establish their ability to meet whatever negative effects that might arise in the current economic circumstances.

Comprehensive Study

Al-Tamar said that the Central Bank made a comprehensive study of all the budget factors. The greatest concentration was directly on the loan portfolio and the other investment portfolios, and on the banks' commitments to meet the letters of undertaking that they have issued. This is the largest part of the dangers of banking operations, as represented by the dangers of credit and investment.

With respect to the loan portfolio, al-Tamar added that the Central Bank asked the banks for detailed and comprehensive data and statistics regarding the various types of credit facilities offered to clients. The Central Bank then undertook to classify this data in light of specific standards, such as the adequateness and quality of the guarantees submitted from the clients, the extent of the good order of the indebted clients' accounts, in terms of payment of interest and loan installments, and the length of time required to pay off the indebtedness. In addition, there was another group of objective factors which enabled the Central Bank to determine an appropriate classification for each one of the indebted clients' accounts.

In this regard, the Central Bank was guided by the most conservative banking traditions and customs, as well as the deprooted practises that central banks apply in these matters.

With respect to the investment portfolios, the Central Bank asked the banks for detailed and comprehensive data and statistics regarding the specifics of these portfolios. The Central Bank evaluated the details of these investment portfolios on realistic bases and through the most cautious evaluations possible. Appropriate allocations were made for each type of investment in order to afford the most protection in the event of a sudden decline in market prices of these investments.

As regards letters of undertaking issued by the banks, an appropriate percentage of financial allocations were established for them, in light of the dangers to which each of them might be subjected.

In addition to this, the Central Bank took into account, in its analyses of the banks' situations, the extent of the total allocations for these banks' investments in instruments of the cash market, as well as the banks' foreign currency situation and the size of their deposits with other banks.

Integrity of Financial Position

Al-Tamar stated that the Central Bank, through its constant monitoring of the banks, aims at making sure of the soundness of their financial conditions and their continued ability to meet their obligations regarding the national economy. Through continual and exacting monitoring of the banks' situations last year, and the comprehensive investigation conducted by the Central Bank of these conditions at the end of that year, the Central Bank was reassured over the ability of Kuwaiti banks to meet future eventualities, while continually being alert and cautious regarding the acceptance of new operations,

as well as continuing to follow professional rules regarding the administration of their existing portfolios, through recognition of the real situation of borrowers and developing their relationships with them in a way compatible with their financial resources and their true requirements, in order to pursue and develop their activities.

Al-Tamar added: "The results of last year's performance for all the banks were positive, and the banks earned profits at satisfactory rates. The banks are aware, as the Central Bank knows, that operating profits are the basic source for strengthening the financial situation of any bank. Since the economic situation, both locally and internationally, requires more caution and alertness, our national banks have taken the guidance of the Central Bank to give additional consideration this year to the matter of strengthening allocations and reserves and not to be dependent on the size of distributed profits. The banks have complied with this guidance to the extent that some of them have not distributed profits, while other banks have done so at reasonable rates. "Perhaps it would be appropriate for shareholders in the banks to understand that their true interests are not in the size of the dividends that they obtain in any given year, but rather, their true interests are in the banking institution continuing to enjoy a constantly sound and strong financial position. Thus, supporting the banks' financial position could give them a greater capability to increase the size of their operations and their competitive abilities and, therefore, to achieve increased profits."

Basic Measures

The governor of the Bank of Kuwait pointed out that the measures taken by the bank were fundamental and necessary. Since they were being proposed for the first time, clarifications were required through a continual dialogue between the Central Bank and the other banks. When it was explained to the banks the motives for these actions and the positive results that will flow from them in terms of strengthening their financial positions, they welcomed them and showed the expected cooperation. This confirmed the desire of the banks' boards of directors and their executive administrations to accept and learn everything possible to protect the situation of their banking establishment, and to work without delay on behalf of the banks' interests and the general interests of the national economy.

Al-Tamar praised the positive role evinced by the banks through supplying the Central Bank with detailed and comprehensive information and data, and the extent of their awareness of the role played by the Central Bank with regard to protecting the banking system and guarding its integrity. Al-Tamar said that economic and fiscal developments on both the domestic and international scenes during recent years have clearly emphasized the importance of the provisions of the Central Bank's supervision over the banking system, through the creation and application of the required supervisory means appropriate to their concepts and principles, in prevailing and anticipated circumstances. Therefore, in light of the comprehensive, analytical study that it carried out on the occasion of reviewing the banks' annual budgets for last year, the Central Bank will draw up the banking rules, regulations and standards that it deems necessary to help to ensure the continuation of the banks' sound financial positions.

Al-Tammar added that there is no doubt that placing such rules and regulations will make the operation of banking supervision easier, in terms of efforts and time. This will be in the banks' best interests, as well as in the interests of the national economy in general.

7005

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KUWAIT

BANKS DELAY RELEASING PROFITS STATEMENTS

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 8 Feb 85 p 43

[Editorial: "Kuwaiti Banks' Climate"]

[Text] The Kuwaiti banks' reliance on their annual profits has made them follow a tradition that has become tantamount to customary law. This is the publication of initial results of the fiscal year's activities in the first part of December each year, i.e., before the final completion of their budgets and prior to submitting them to the Central Bank for authorization. However, 1985 has brought a new phenomenon!

The year 1984 has passed and 1985 has begun without the Kuwaiti banks, with two exceptions, announcing the results of their activities on the traditional date for this announcement. Stranger even than this is that they may intend not to distribute profits, due to the problems that the Kuwaiti economy currently faces. In fact, there were intensive meetings during the second week of January of the Kuwaiti bank directors with the Board of Supervision in the Central Bank, which examined the bank results, scrutinized the details and expressed the view that profits earned for the fiscal year ending on 31 December 1984 must be added to the reserve.

This radical change in the situation of the Kuwaiti banking sector, known for its prosperity, is due to two main factors: the continual drawdown of economic activity and the continued ramifications of the collapse of the al-Manakh market, with its resulting irretrievable or dubious debts. On the other hand, the sagging world oil market and the Gulf war have helped one another to put an end to the prosperity that had started to slow down in any event with the completion of the state's basic infrastructure.

On the domestic side, the intense slide in the prices of real estate, and the decline in rental values in the banking center of more than 50 percent, have helped to strengthen the economic stagnation in Kuwait, especially since real estate investments form the backbone of much of the wealth of Kuwaiti citizens. However, the factor which had the primary influence on the Kuwaiti banks' results for 1984 was the issue of the dubious debts.

Up until 1984, both the banks' administrations and the governmental fiscal administration had a general conception of the size of the collectable debts.

Generally, it was a debt easily covered by the secret reserves. When the banks' final budgets were under preparation, the Central Bank would request each bank to append to its final budget a complete and detailed list of loans, obligations and guarantees. That was done in order to arrive at a precise estimate of debts of dubious collectibility and, consequently, of the size of allocations forthcoming from each bank. In light of that, the final decision could be made as to distribution of profits.

Official statistics indicate that the size of the banks' debts to the private sector amount to 4.3 billion dinars, i.e., \$14.1 billion. Rumors currently circulating in Kuwait indicate that the percentage of dubious collectible debts amount to 30 percent of this total. This amount exceeds the probable ability of the Kuwaiti banks.

However, what is the true extent of the Kuwaiti banks' crisis, apart from the rumors and exaggerated fears?

The size of the dubious debts, which amount to hundreds of millions of dinars, must first of all be compared with the total financial reserves of the Kuwaiti banking system at the end of 1984. At that time, it totaled 770 million dinars. In addition to this reserve, the Kuwaiti banks have secret reserves that might total no less than the public reserve. This gives it adequate financial protection with respect to any loss. It is well known that the Kuwaiti banks rarely declare more than one-third of their actual profits and, on top of that, enjoy tax exemptions that other banking sectors might not enjoy.

With this realistic picture, one may deal with the Kuwaiti banks' dilemma with responsibility and vision, to ensure maintaining the international reputation of the Kuwaiti banking system on the one hand, and on the other, guaranteeing the ending of the psychological atmosphere that has accumulated and persisted, due to Suq-al-Manakh.

7005

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KUWAIT

STUDY EXAMINES PROBLEMS OF YOUTH IN SOCIETY

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 4 Feb 85 pp 1, 22

[Article: "Youth Problems in Kuwait, Solutions To Restore Social Balance"]

[Text] Dr Salim Marzuq al-Tahih, chief of the Amir of Kuwait's Consultative Research Organization, said that the organization has completed studies about 'Youth in Kuwait,' in compliance with the amir's directives. This was done out of the amir's concerns for a large segment of Kuwaiti society, in order to make it possible for the state to define a constructive policy for youth on a scientific basis.

In his statement to the Kuwaiti News Agency, Dr Al-Tahih added that the study was aimed at defining the behavioral problems that the youth in Kuwait face, and determining the size of these problems, with respect to "family relations, sparetime activities, relating to self, relating to the need for money, future aspirations and goals, relating to the authority of society, and academic conformity."

He added: "The study suggests short-term and long-range practical solutions to restore the required social balance, commensurate with what Kuwaiti society expects of its youth."

Dr al-Tahih stated that in order to achieve these goals, a random sample of about 4,000 young people, both male and female, was selected. Some 66 percent were Kuwaiti and 24 [as published] percent were non-Kuwaiti. Of these, 56 percent were male and 44 percent female. They ranged in age from 12 to 25 years old.

He added: "The sample took into account the degree of academic achievement, the current status, whether students or graduate, type of work or unemployed, and social status, in addition to the number of family members and location of residence in Kuwait."

"The study took 2 years, with some 16 members of the faculty of Kuwait University participating, along with 97 research assistants. A computer was used to analyze the study sample. This is considered a basic resource for researchers, because its importance and beneficial results increase our knowledge of our young Kuwaiti sons and brothers."

He added that the study was done on the suggestions, plans and surveys of previous studies made about the youth in Kuwait. The second stage was the field study, which applied the computer against the random sample of young people in Kuwait, as previously stated.

Dr al-Tahih stated that the amir of Kuwait's desire was that this study be made available to researchers and those scientifically concerned with the issues of youth. His highness has allowed this work to be published for profit, especially since the scientific method followed in these studies is a model for every researcher into the problems of youth in any Arab country to study in the future.

Eight Main Subjects

The head of the amir of Kuwait's Consultative Research Organization indicated that this study deals, on an exacting scientific basis, with eight subjects:

1. Youth and family. This study deals with the problems faced by youth in Kuwait, pertaining to their relationships with family members, especially the mother and father.
2. Youth and idle time. That study pertains to how youth spend their spare time, in order to learn their favorite activities.
3. Youth and relating to self. This concentrates on the youth's feelings of discontent with themselves and their lack of confidence in themselves. The understanding of self is not clear, which has an influence on determining their future lives.
4. Youth and the need for money. This study deals with youth's view of money, since it is a vital element in the life of individuals, in order to satisfy their daily needs.
5. Youth and the future. This deals with the youth's view of the future, with their aspirations and future goals, with concern for defining and planning.
6. Youth and society. This study and analysis includes the extent of young people's relating to society's authority, in terms of respect for public property, and maintaining the rights of neighbors and others in terms of social concerns.
7. Youth and the school. It explains the difficulties that prevent youth from relating psychologically and socially in school, and the extent of their appreciation for teachers and scholars, and the benefits of education.
8. Youth in Kuwait. This is a general study of factors leading to lack of young people relating to themselves or society or their lives, through the use of factor analysis, and which reaches a number of general and specific directions.

Study Results

Dr Salim al-Tahih said that the organization had completed the publication of the first study about 'Youth and Family,' which is aimed at achieving the following:

1. Attempt to ascertain the problems faced by youth in Kuwait, especially problems pertaining to family relationships.
2. Determine the size of these problems connected with the relationships of young people in Kuwait with their families. He indicated that the most important of the results achieved by this study are as follows:

1. Problems of family relationships preoccupy the concerns of youth in Kuwait.

2. The nature of the problems of family relationships vary with young people in Kuwait in accordance with nationality, sex and social status.

He made it clear that the results of the study in terms of sex--male or female--indicated that the females of this group believe that the family does not understand their needs and that the father is not interested in family matters. They feel that parents do not trust them and that they (the girls) require concern.

Moreover, the young girl thinks that the way that parents raise their children is unsuitable and that their views are always in conflict with the parents' views. In addition, they are unable to express their views in the presence of their elders. As for males, the statistical evidence did not clarify dissimilar positions, as was the case with the females.

As for nationality, Kuwaiti or non-Kuwaiti, Dr al-Tahih said that the study showed that Kuwaiti young people believe that the father is disinterested in family matters, and that society suffers from the separation of parents, whether because of the father's marriage to another woman or the mother's marriage to another man.

He pointed out that the study showed that the prevailing behavior in society, as perceived by the non-Kuwaiti youth, is the family's dissatisfaction with the friends of youth, the conflict of their views with the views of parents, and their inability to express their views in the presence of parents.

7005

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LEBANON

TRIPOLI PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS CITY'S FUTURE

City's Legitimate Government

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 23-29 Jan 85 pp 18-19, 21

[Article by Ibrahim 'Awad]

[Text] The language of fire between Sunni Tripoli and 'Alawite Ba'l Muhsin has stopped and has been replaced by the language of dialogue. The credit for this goes to the Damascus agreement.

It is perhaps the first time in the Lebanon war that two defendants, who were charged with liquidating seven Tripolitan citizens in revenge for the assassination of a bodyguard of a partisan official from Ba'l Muhsin, have been executed. The death sentence was carried out by the Arab Democratic Party to which the slain bodyguard belonged in front of a crowd of the city's inhabitants so that it may be a lesson for those who will learn. The credit for this also goes to the Damascus agreement.

Finally, after hard labor and after approval of the "document of consent" by the armed movements in Tripoli and representatives of the government, troops of the Lebanese army descended on the city streets, set up roadblocks on the city streets and around the city, organized patrols and checked identity cards. The credit for this also goes to the Damascus agreement.

The patient Tripolitans, who are pleased with the development of affairs, cannot but pray and beseech that this blessing will continue; perhaps it may cure them of the malady of the catastrophes and tragedies which they, like the rest of the Lebanese, have suffered for a long time.

AL-MAJALLAH visited Tripoli a few days before the legitimate government returned to it and met there with both military and civilian officials and with all the armed forces and influential factions in the area. It also engaged in dialogue with both well-to-do and destitute citizens and emerged with a report which we will publish in two parts. Following is the first part.

There are two, and only two, questions on every lip and tongue:

Will the army establish security and safety?

What does Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban want?

Regarding the first question, the answers are almost the same on the part of the majority of the people. Despite their enthusiasm for seeing the army swagger in the streets and alleys and even on the rooftops, most people doubt the army's effectiveness and its ability to stand fast should an emergency develop or should the equations be upturned. It is enough for one to look at the army's position in Beirut and the mountain, and perhaps along the coast in the future, to confirm this theory, which one wishes were wrong. It should be noted, however, that the army's position here is different from its position in the other areas because of the support and backing it gets from the Syrian army. This is stipulated in the Damascus agreement.

Regarding the second question on Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the man still fills Tripoli and preoccupies its inhabitants. However, it must be pointed out here that the man has lost some of his initial glow, especially since his alliance with Abu 'Ammar and the latter's departure from Tripoli and since the emergence of other factions that share the opinion making and decision making with him.

The Unification Movement founded by Shaykh Sa'id almost 3 years ago has continued to be the strongest armed movement in Tripoli. With its emergence, the other parties and forces have declined. This decline has come as a result of military blows dealt by the movement to these parties and forces. But the Unification Movement is no longer the sole movement in the area. Rather, this movement has split into movements, if we may use the phrase, and has become a party to the Islamic Meeting which includes three other factions: the Islamic Group, which is represented by Eng 'Abdallah Babiti; the Quarter and Mosque Committees; which are headed by Khalil 'Akkawi, nicknamed Abu al-'Arab; and the Committees Grouping, which is led by Shaykh Kan'an Naji.

Despite this division that has developed in the Unification Movement, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban's word continues to have its impact and its consequences for the situation in Tripoli, especially since Prime Minister Rashid Karami, Tripoli's son, is absent from his city most days of the week because of his preoccupation with government concerns and affairs. Karami only comes to the city by helicopter every Saturday evening to stay in it for Sunday and then returns to Beirut on Monday morning. This compulsory absence and the shaky position of Karami's cabinet have created in the city a political void which has enabled Karami's foes and the influential forces in the arena to exploit this void to their benefit. But this situation has not pleased most of the Tripolitans who wish Prime Minister Karami success in leading the government procession, who laud his patience and his enthusiasm for rescuing his country from the cycle of violence, murder and destruction and who always display their readiness to renew their allegiance to Karami. However, this Tripolitan praise for the head of the national unity cabinet does not mean total satisfaction with the "effendi's" actions. The Tripolitans fault Prime Minister Karami for turning a "deaf ear" to the alternatives, for his failure to provide the opportunities for numerous capabilities that can alleviate his burden and for his failure to devote attention to dealing with the citizens' problems--and how numerous are these problems in the wake of a 10-year war!

These words should not be understood to mean undermining the weight and influence of those close to Prime Minister Karami and of his loyal friends in dealing with many of Tripoli's living and security problems. These friends and close associates include some who have exposed and continue to expose their lives to danger and who receive dozens of death threats. Of these, we will mention, for example, Tripoli mayor and chairman of the North Coordination Committee 'Ashir al-Dayah and businessman Wasif Fattal, who has performed a conciliatory role between the city's various warring parties, not to mention Fattal's well-known role during Abu 'Ammar's battle with the dissidents when he traveled between Damascus and Tripoli to exert efforts to alleviate the sufferings of his city and its inhabitants. But despite the presence of these men and others, "one hand cannot clap." The problems of half a million citizens, even a little more, cannot be solved by 2, 3 or even 20 men.

Dialogue with Parties Concerned

After this quick glimpse with which we sought to familiarize ourselves with Tripoli's situation, we had to head for the people concerned to talk with them, to hear their opinions and to make sure that Tripoli's journey with suffering has actually neared its end.

Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban was the first one we headed for. At his modest home in the Abu Samra' area which overlooks the city of Tripoli, he received us after having just awakened from a long afternoon nap which he is eager to take whenever the circumstances permit, and they rarely do.

[Question] We hastened to say: Assure us, Shaykh Sa'id, that we are through with the suffering, God willing.

[Answer] (He fidgeted a little and answered with a low and tired voice:) If it were up to Shaykh Sa'id, nothing would have happened to start with. What has happened in Tripoli and Lebanon is the result of an international plot implemented on our soil. This plot has exploited the contradictions existing on our soil for the benefit of the Israeli enemy. Therefore, the Unification Movement and Shaykh Sa'id have had no hand in what has happened in Lebanon. Our position has been that of the mother toward her son and of the citizen toward his homeland, a homeland for which he wants nothing but good. We are not a party to the conflict but we have defended our existence and dignity. We did not start things in order that we may end them. The responsibility falls on the shoulders of those who started these things. If it were up to us, not a single shot would have been fired in our country and not a single victim would have been sacrificed because we love our country and we respect life--people's lives and life in general--and we cannot soil our hands with anyone's blood or destroy anyone's home. Let this question be addressed to someone else.

[Question] Your support for Abu 'Ammar when he came to Tripoli caused the city extensive destruction and damage, not to mention loss of life. Would it not have been possible to take a different position in order to avert dangers from the city and to spare it tragedies, especially since relations between the PLO chairman and the Syrian officials had deteriorated to their lowest level?

[Answer] My reply to this question is that Abu 'Ammar departed from Tripoli more than a year ago. But the city's incidents did not come to an end with his departure. We have witnessed tragedies since then. Was Abu 'Ammar present 3 months ago or a little earlier when 100 or more innocent civilians were killed and their homes destroyed and when shells wiped out entire families? We know that the battle was not caused by Abu 'Ammar. The presence of Abu 'Ammar was used as a justification and a pretext. Was Abu 'Ammar defending his cause, as he likes to call it? Some of the statements made by others at that time threatened the city's Muslims, not just Abu 'Ammar. Those statements called for restoring Tripoli's progressive face and for wiping out the forces of darkness, meaning the Islamic forces. This is a despicable expression. Islam is light, not darkness. All this proves that the battle was not against Abu 'Ammar alone because he does not embrace Islamic thinking. The battle was against this city.

[Question] The Damascus agreement concluded between you and the Syrian brothers has put an end to the battles which used to erupt between the two factions in Tripoli and Ba'l Muhsin and has led the city to a phase of tranquillity and stability. Don't you agree with me that this agreement came much too late and that it could have been approved earlier for the sake of the safety of the city and of its population?

[Answer] Anyway, everything is tied to its time and fate moves people. We could not go to Damascus without our dignity. We cannot kiss the hand that kills us. When this hand stopped what it was doing and sought to negotiate with us from an honorable position, we said that we are prepared to visit whoever disagrees with us as long as he considers us equals and brothers. But if he considers us slaves, then death is more important to us than life.

[Question] It is well known that every faction accuses the other of initiating the shelling or attributes such shelling to undisciplined elements. Do you have such elements, Shaykh Sa'id?

[Answer] You find the answer to this question in the reality we are witnessing at present. For our part, we have never violated the cease fire and we have been the last to answer fire with fire. Tripoli experienced a magnificent period during the majestic past month of Ramadan which passed in its entirety without a single shot being fired.

Tripoli has gone through a period of 3-5 months in which it has lived under an unprecedented security situation which it had never experienced when the state was at the peak of its power. We have never initiated the firing. We have been the last to retaliate and the first to cease firing. They would start before us and we would stop before them. In any case, it must be said that they were hard days and we hope to God that they have been replaced by the dawn of stability and reassurance.

Language of Dialogue

[Question] There are those who doubt that the Damascus agreement will be implemented in an ideal manner. Are there indications of its apprehension which may lead the two factions to reconsider their calculations?

[Answer] As long as the dialogue continues to be held with the language of reason and logic, we are satisfied. With the language of reason and logic, we can persuade any of our interlocutors. As long as the others believe in the benefit of dialogue, then this means that we can develop with them a formula that insures stability and security in our country. I do not wish to anticipate matters or to cast doubts on the intentions of the others because this slander may lead to a crisis of trust and a moral crisis. We want to leave it to time to prove who is sincere, and we hope that both sides are sincere.

[Question] Some fault you for going to Damascus in the company of an Iranian delegation. This has imbued your movement with a characteristic that has moved it away from its Lebanese character. What is your response to this?

[Answer] We consider Muslims brothers and do not make a distinction between a Lebanese, an Iranian or an Iraqi. We will welcome the initiative, regardless of which side it comes from. We were afraid to go to Damascus in the days of hardship and violence. When the language of shelling and of iron and fire stopped and the initiative and the request came--and people always seek a position dear to their hearts--we responded. When the mediation is international, i.e., when it emanates from a major power, this mediation or the message it carries becomes very serious. It would have behooved the Arabs to precede the Iranians in this initiative. But, and I say this with utter regret, none of the Arab countries remembered us or moved to save us. Had a party other than the Iranians taken this initiative, we would not have rejected it.

[Question] Why did the Iranian mediation come late?

[Answer] There were other mediation efforts that did not rise to the level of the mediation which produced the Damascus agreement. The Iranian brothers visited me on the day the Unification Movement was founded and we asked them to exert efforts with the Syrians to make matters easier for Tripoli. The Iranians' advice always flowed in the direction we liked--the direction which says we don't want to preoccupy ourselves with fighting the Syrians when Israel is present on the ground. We used to tell the Syrian brothers: Consider us your extension because our ideological and geographic depth is Syria. We are like your right arm. Do not push away the hand extended to shake yours. Although the Iranians were late, the others did not even think of the initiative.

Ba'l Muhsin Faction

[Question] How are your relations with the Ba'l Muhsin faction now?

[Answer] We have been addressing the Ba'l Muhsin people for a long time. We used to ask them during the raging battles: What has happened with you? You were a part of the city and we want you again to be a part of it. We offered sincere advice and we embodied this advice practically from the day, we founded our movement when we entrusted a group of our youth to negotiate with the Ba'l Muhsin people a truce or a peace to end the battle. I also recall that I stood a year ago at al-Qirbah Mosque to collect donations for the poor of Ba'l Muhsin and al-Tabbanah. I said then: You are all poor and you are the sons of the same country. I actually collected the donations and distributed them to all. We left no opportunity go by without stressing our desire to live in peace with

the inhabitants of Ba'l Muhsin. But it seems that the political decision was opposed to this wish and called for hitting, shelling and killing us. But we are happy nowadays with this security and this understanding, which we hope will be a lasting and stable security and a firm understanding. We hope that the rifle will disappear from Tripoli to surface in South Lebanon and on the soil of Palestine. The real battles are taking place there and we hope that we will be given the opportunity to take part in them. We also hope that the blockade on Tripoli will be lifted and that training camps will be opened for us in Syria so that we may go to the south.

[Question] The rifle has not disappeared from the city and we hope that this will happen now that the army has entered it.

[Answer] There are in the city opponents who have assassinated several of our brothers. It is as if all the official forces in charge of protecting the city's security did not exist. This is why we have been forced to rise to protect the city and protect ourselves. I recall that I once toured the city after midnight and did not see a single security man. Rather, I saw some of them asleep in their vehicles and in front of their positions.

[Question] The officials respond to this by saying: What use is the security man's rifle in the face of rocket launchers and artillery? They mean by this the militiamen.

[Answer] This projection is faulty. The security men are our sons and we cannot but assist and aid them in performing their duties.

[Question] And what about the army?

[Answer] We are against an army that confiscates our liberties and we do not want an army with some commands that harbor hatred for Tripoli. We have demanded that the army entrusted with taking charge of Tripoli's affairs be placed under a Muslim command, a command that knows man's value and that really wants to establish security and not to kill the citizens. We have notified both the Lebanese and the Syrians concerned that we reject being given an army with a blackened history. We do not want an ignoble army and want to know who is in command of this army so that its responsibilities may be defined. Everybody's nerves are tired and we all want to rest and relax. Prime Minister Karami said that the plan for the army deployment is a conciliatory plan and a plan implemented through dialogue, agreement and consent. We have accepted this statement and acted in its light.

We and They

[Question] Do you think that Prime Minister Karami will not fulfill his words and promise to you?

[Answer] I am not saying this. I am afraid that his role will be nullified. If he is truly in charge, then he must fulfill his promise.

[Question] You criticize Prime Minister Karami strongly. You have even accused him recently of working to "turn the Tripolitans into ground meat and to offer them as easy prey to the Phalangist authority."

[Answer] We had had a constant relationship with His Excellency Prime Minister Karami. Prior to the Geneva and Lausanne conferences, we met with Karami, discussed matters with him and begged him to share with us the opinion he carries to Geneva and Lausanne. We asked him to consult with us because he speaks in the name of and represents the Muslims. We entreated him to familiarize us with his opinions and beliefs in order that we may give him free advice. But his excellency ignored this and went to negotiate in his own name. The Maronite front consulted with its base and kept its allies and supporters informed of all developments. Meanwhile, we were treated like slaves who have no opinions. This is a position we score against the Muslim leaders chosen in our country to represent the voice of the Muslims. Thus, the Muslim alone ended with no opinion on what was happening on his homeland's soil. We beg Prime Minister Karami to understand our position and to modify his independence and his negligence of those who delegated and selected him so that we may not feel that we are being bought and sold without expressing our opinions. This is primary. Even when His Excellency Prime Minister Karami agreed to form the cabinet, we had an opinion on the issue. We told him: Don't float the Phalangist boat. The government will be Phalangist because its head has been raised in the Phalangist house. We want such a state to fall, not rise. But Prime Minister Karami accepted the assignment and did not consult with anybody. We have been sincere with him. I tell him that the contradictions of which his cabinet is formed will not be beneficial in rescuing Lebanon. We have said verbatim that the first step to unify Lebanon comes by unifying the Muslims, both Sunna and Shi'ites, because the Muslims have always rescued Lebanon from every dilemma. The Phalangist, who is the ally of Israel, the Lebanese Forces and the others who are following the Lebanese crusader tendency cannot unite Lebanon. Their plans flow in the direction of partitioning, not uniting, Lebanon. We had hoped that His Excellency Prime Minister Karami would understand us and would realize how strong his position would be with us and how strong we would be with him. But individuality, egotism and personality are predominant in Prime Minister Karami's policy. We hope that he will break away from this political tendency which does not befit one who represents his nation.

[Question] No better cabinet could have been formed.

[Answer] This is untrue. We were in a strong position that would have enabled us to dictate our opinions to the others, to change their privileges and not to submit to the fait accompli. We do not wish to kill anybody and this has never occurred to us. The Phalanges have devoured the rights of all and they want more on the pretext of protecting the Maronite race, which is becoming almost extinct. We give them our rights and dignity every day. They have plundered the state, have killed people according to their identity card and have manipulated the dollar and they reiterate daily that they do not feel reassured about their future. If we were united, we would stop the strong at the limits of justice to which God Almighty accepts no alternative.

[Question] If you were asked to form a cabinet or to take part in the government, would you turn down the request?

[Answer] Yes. I will shoulder the responsibility when the Muslims become the decision makers and when I can rule Lebanon with my convictions, not the convictions of others. When we are asked to rule Lebanon according to the formula in which we believe--which is different from the path of the State of Lebanon and which achieves equal justice for both the Muslim and the non-Muslim--then I will accept the assignment. But to accept the assignment according to a formula that entrenches sectarianism and the rights of a malevolent minority that considers itself a privileged class, then this would mean that I serve the ambitions and rancors of the others. God forbid that I should accept this, or even think of it.

[Question] A final question: are you pleased with the Unification Movement and with the acts of some of its members?

[Answer] I am pleased with what I believe in. Those who are with me are no angels. The love of revenge and of domination and 10 years of hateful partisan fighting cannot be corrected by a sermon, a message or a statement.

Party Leaders Interviewed

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 30 Jan -Feb 85 pp 34-35, 39

[Article by Ibrahim 'Awad]

[Text] A new face of sedition is at Tripoli's doors these days. After the conflict between Bab al-Tabbanah and Ba'l Muhsin ended and neighborly relations between the sons of the same city were restored, after the army was deployed through "consent" in Tripoli's streets and alleys and stationed at its entrances and after the implementation of most of the provisions contained in the Damascus agreement which was approved by the warring parties and which called for establishing security and peace in the city--after all this, the explosions have returned to reach some houses of worship and institutions, accompanied by the "tune" of threatening the foreign missions and of demanding that they close their doors and return to where they came from because "they are incompatible with Tripoli's Muslim character," according to those "playing this tune." In this beclouded atmosphere, AL-MAJALLAH toured Tripoli, talked to its citizens and officials, asked them about their view of their city's future and emerged with this report which forms the second and final part of the topic: "Tripoli Under the Legitimate Administration."

With the "ugly face" overlooking Lebanon's second capital, keeping in mind that this face has visited the city previously, the people's interests have had to be focused on this particular issue and to preoccupy the minds of officials and leaders, especially since all the forces influential in the arena have expressed their condemnation and denunciation of these criminal acts.

Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the leader of the Islamic Unification Movement, declared: "Coexistence between Muslims and Christians is a Shari'a dictate that nobody

may violate." 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd-al-Rahman, secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Organization's branch in Tripoli, expressed the denunciation by the organization's Regional Command in Lebanon, saying that "these suspect criminal attacks come in the wake of the army's deployment and of its being stationed at the main crossroads to demonstrate the weakness of this step, despite the step's positive features, in order to create a political and security climate that leads to foiling the Damascus agreement."

Mahmud Shihadah, one of the officials of the Arab Democratic Party which is the party in charge of the Ba'l Muhsin area, demanded that "the evil hands tampering with the citizens' lives, security and livelihood be broken."

I recall here that during my presence in Tripoli nearly a month ago, i.e., before the occurrence of these explosions, I asked Khalil 'Akkawi (Abu al-'Arabi), the official in charge of the quarter and mosque committees, the most prominent defender of Bab al-Tabbanah since 1976 and one of the four members in the Islamic Meeting, about the image he wants for the city of Tripoli and whether he wants it to be a Muslim city or a city of coexistence among the various sects. I also recall that I addressed this question to Abu al-'Arabi at the time only because I felt that most of the Christian citizens I had met expressed their fear of their position in the city after they had heard rumors about the presence of plans calling for their eviction to certain areas inhabited by other members of their sect in the same way as the Christian inhabitants of these areas had "evicted" the sons of other sects.

Abu al-'Arabi answered this question firmly and decisively, saying:

"I say that all the acts committed against the Christians not only reflect the actions of the plotting agencies but also reflect the backwardness of many of the Muslim factions present in the Tripolitan arena and the inability of these factions to understand Islam correctly. If we want to give the others a sound example of the behavior of the true Muslim citizen, then we must coexist with the Christians and must invite them to Islam with wisdom and good words. When Islam is represented by intransigent and fanatic factions that engage in these disgraceful acts, then these factions are not projecting Islam as a civilized plan but rather as a sectarian plan governed by narrow interests."

Abu al-'Arabi added: "We do not consider the Christians to be our main enemies. However, there is disagreement on particular issues contained in the Koran. We support coexistence with the Christians and we must make a distinction between the Christians and the Phalanges."

Explaining the reasons for the conflict between the inhabitants of Bab al-Tabbanah and Ba'l Muhsin, Abu al-'Arabi said that he does not separate these conflicts from the framework of the conflicts experienced in the Lebanese arena. "We have not created these wars. Rather, they have been created on our land by some countries in the region, by some international powers and by others. Moreover, there are sectarian leaders whose interests dictate that this war continue." Abu al-'Arabi went so far in his statements as to accuse the Palestinian resistance of exploiting these conflicts and others for its own benefit and according to what its interests dictate. Abu al-'Arabi said: "Our interest dictates that the war be ended. But the decision to end it is not in our hands."

Concluding, Abu al-'Arabi expressed the belief that "there are positive indications that have emerged recently, the most important being the Syrian position which is moving effectively to control these conflicts and then to contain and end them."

Chronic Backwardness

I heard similar statements and more from Eng 'Abdallah Babiti, the representative of the Islamic Group in the Islamic Meeting and a prominent member of this Meeting, since he is one of those who have worked sincerely and ceaselessly for the approval and implementation of the Damascus agreement and is a man who is always eager to contact all the parties concerned to bring the viewpoints closer to each other and to expedite the deployment of the army after eliminating all the obstacles facing it. Despite Engineer Babiti's preoccupation with political issues, we must underline here his disciplined attendance to his official job in Tripoli Municipality and his keeping up with the citizens' daily formalities. It is perhaps this that has made him more aware than others of the Tripolitan citizen's concerns, problems and economic, living and human needs.

When we asked Engineer Babiti to give us an approximate figure on the damage inflicted on the city as a result of the wars and battles taking place on its soil, he said:

"The answer consists of two parts: there are certain damages, such as the damages that have left behind dead and wounded and the loss of breadwinners and those inflicted on buildings and property, and damages that have hit the economy, the projects and development in Tripoli and in the north."

Insofar as the first part is concerned, the studies conducted by the Ojje Lebanon Company and Tripoli Municipality estimate these damages at 200 million Lebanese pounds. But these studies were made after Abu 'Ammar's departure from Tripoli and it can be asserted here that the battles witnessed by the city since that departure, i.e., from the final day of the blessed al-Fitr holiday and until the onset of the blessed al-Adha holiday, have doubled this figure.

As for the second part concerning the economy and development, it must be said that the city of Tripoli has been suffering for years and years from the suspension of its development. For example, let me note here that the so-called Tripoli international fair which was approved by the cabinet in the late 1960's has now become worthless with the big development witnessed by civilization in these days. Insofar as medical care and treatment are concerned, we must note that the city needs 4,000 beds whereas its local hospitals provide a total of only 1,000 beds. No road or street has been opened in Tripoli in years, no bridge has been built and no public park has been developed.

If this picture of the living and economic situations in Tripoli that Engineer Babati has offered is gloomy, the National Grouping for Social Action, which is headed by 'Adnan al-Jisr, an ex-chairman of the Lawyers Union, and which includes most chairmen of the north's unions, has warned repeatedly of an economic catastrophe in the city--a catastrophe for which no cure will be useful. This

grouping has also declared courageously on several occasions that the Tripolitans reject the internecine fighting taking place in their area and are disgusted by some of the acts committed by a number of the armed factions, such as the demand for protection money, attacks on liberties and sabotage of cultural institutions, under the slogan of religion. We must note here that the Tripoli Cultural League was subjected to an attempt to blow it up and destroy it and that this attempt motivated Eng Rashid al-Jamali, the league chairman, to denounce the attempt and to call a spade a spade, regardless of the threatening telephone calls he receives from time to time.

The Tripoli Cultural League is considered a literary and social meeting point for hundreds of Tripolitans, especially since it contains a well-organized lecture hall, a technical showroom and a professional stage to receive the most famous world troupes.

In view of the climate under which the city is living, a number of well-to-do Tripolitans have found no alternative to "fleeing" the city, even if only for a distance of a few kilometers, where they have built luxury clubs and chalets, each selling for 350,000 Lebanese pounds, keeping in mind that each chalet or beach cabin consists of a single room with its utilities. Matters have reached the point where these people leave their homes in Tripoli whenever there is deterioration in the security situation and stay at these clubs and chalets which are located on the city's northern entrance where the Syrian army is in charge of security.

Tripolitans Speak

After this quick review of the actual situation in Tripoli, one must wonder about the future of this Lebanese city which has been living under a reasonable security situation since the deployment of the army, even before then, when compared with the other parts of Lebanon.

What Future for Tripoli?

This is a question we have addressed to a number of officials and citizens from various tendencies and inclinations and from various "pockets." Their answers have been as follows:

'Abd-al-Qadir 'Alam-al-Din, the mayor of al-Mina', one of the officials who have succeeded in performing their tasks amidst these difficult circumstances and a man qualified to play a prominent political role in the city by virtue of the trust he enjoys among the various parties in the area, said:

"I expect nothing but good for Tripoli because it seems that all have finally realized that the language of violence and of guns solves no problem and that it is better to follow the path of dialogue. This conviction must be inevitably reflected in the city's future. It is true that the positive features will not surface in the immediate future. But one who has gone through a war lasting 10 years and more can be patient for a year or two."

Wasif Fattal, a member of the Northern Coordination Committee and a successful businessman, wanted from the outset to make it clear to all those concerned that his enthusiasm to serve his city and its sons is not intended for the attainment of a ministerial position or something else. His main concern is to achieve security in Tripoli so that he may have the chance to set up projects in the city and to benefit from them. His permanent presence in the city is nothing more an indication of his belief that the city's future harbors prosperity and progress for the city.

'Abd-al-Ghani Kabbarah and Ahmad Kabbarah are two brothers who disagree. The first, a businessman, is cautious in expressing optimism over the city's future as a result of the past experiences undergone by the city. 'Abd-al-Ghani said that Tripoli is a part of the homeland and a part of the heart. If the heart is ailing, how can the rest of the body move with full vigor? But despite this, he continues to revitalize his business activities and to contribute to enhancing the city's economy.

Ahmad, his brother who is the owner of a luxury furniture shop, declares that he will stand fast in the city and states that no city in the world can offer the Tripolitan what his city offers. As long as there are citizens determined to cling to their city, then the dawn of stability must break, even if it is late.

Mahmud Salhab, a landlord, is determined to continue implementing his new project which calls for building a modern-style apartment building and shops. Destruction can be confronted only with the determination to build.

Edmund Shabtini, an officer of the Egypt-Lebanon Bank, has not left the city since the outbreak of the events and he feels no annoyance or disturbance. He lives among his kinsmen and friends and expects Tripoli to witness energetic financial activity in the next few months.

Mahmud Minqarah, a supermarket owner, declares that food prices will continue to rise and that this matter must not be taken lightly because it can lead to serious consequences and severe crises.

Khadr Ghalayini, a roving vendor, shouted at the top of his voice when I asked him about his viewpoint of matters in Tripoli and said in front of all those passing by: "We have had enough talk, sir."

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LEBANON

SAMI MARUN DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRY'S EXPORTS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 24-25

[Interview with Sami Marun, head of the National Council for Foreign Relations: "Head of National Council for Foreign Relations: Suspension of Legislative Decrees Has Obstructed Three Important Projects"]

[Text] Since its creation in 1983, the National Council for Foreign [Economic] Relations has been the topic of political debate and give-and-take. Despite this, the council has been able to achieve results under difficult political and security conditions.

What are the tasks performed by the council and what are its aspirations?
Following is an interview with Sami Marun, the council chairman:

[Question] Almost 2 years have passed since the creation of the National Council for Foreign Relations. What are the main things achieved so far?

[Answer] It is well known that one of the council's tasks is to prepare the dossiers forming the bases for negotiation with the outside world, especially the main markets for the Lebanese products. Preparing these dossiers requires knowing the needs of the Lebanese products. This is why the council embarked on a comprehensive survey of export capabilities. This survey will be ready shortly. The council has also engaged in negotiations with Syria, Iraq, Jordan, the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, the EEC and the East European countries.

We should also note the decree signed by the prime minister and calling for the formation of the delegation for economic and development and reconstruction affairs to visit the Arab countries. The date of the first round of negotiations has been set for 19 January 1985. We should not forget the trade agreement with Egypt which has been referred to the Chamber of Deputies to be ratified after its approval by the Egyptian People's Assembly.

On the other hand, there are the activities for advertising Lebanese products within the framework of a scientific program to participate in international fairs, especially specialized fairs, such as the Sceaux Fair in Paris, the London Foodstuffs Fair, the ready-made clothing fairs in the FRG and in Arab fairs such as the Baghdad Fair.

One of the practical things achieved is the bolstering of egg, apple and citrus fruit exports and exports of citrus fruits and olive seedlings. Finally, we should note what the council has done and is still doing in the sphere of facilitating the export process, especially to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

[Question] It has been reiterated that the political debate over the Council and its role has hampered the council's work. How true is this?

[Answer] We are a democratic country and it is normal for opposition to exist. But we regret that this opposition, which has delayed the implementation of a number of the council's vital and sensitive projects, has been a political opposition not founded on economic bases.

Naturally, the said debate has hampered the projects. I will repeat that we had hoped that the opposition's arguments would be economic, not political, because the harm done is unjustifiable and because we are determined to implement these project, noting that the council has the fundamental role of conducting studies and presenting them to the cabinet. The council's role in implementation is secondary. We give top priority to our scientific role of preparing statistics and studies that help the government plan its foreign trade and tourism policy.

[Question] What are the priorities in amending the current agreements, and where will you begin?

[Answer] The priorities rely on certain principles:

1. The local market no longer offers national production adequate protection as a result of smuggling operations and of the illegal ports whereas some Arab and international markets continue to give Lebanese products preferential treatment and complete or near-complete exemptions at times, with our products being treated the same as these countries' products. This constitutes external protection for Lebanese products and enables numerous Lebanese plants to continue to operate. We exert efforts to develop our relations with these markets to increase the number of our imports permitted into these markets so that they may be compatible with the current production which has changed during the events. We are also trying to raise the level of protection and of exemptions and to spread the agreements to as many new countries as possible, even if we are forced to resort to reciprocal treatment.

2. We are interested in finding alternatives to the "clearing" agreements which Lebanon canceled in the past for internal and external reasons, keeping in mind that these agreements have their merits and drawbacks. It is the council's opinion that it is possible to conclude barter agreements with the countries with which we had "clearing" agreements. These agreements must focus on the public sector's import capacity which has increased in the wake of the destruction of the infrastructure.

3. I must note that for the first time in Lebanon, there is constant contact between the public and private sectors to coordinate on foreign economic policy affairs. We should not forget that the National Council for Foreign Relations emanates from the private sector, that its roots are still steeped in this sector and that the council is aware of the problems facing this sector and has an idea on the solutions to these problems.

As to where we will start, there is no doubt that we give top priority to Arab countries without forgetting the EEC because it is the only part of the world that permits the entry of Lebanese products without customs fees and where these products are treated like local products. There is no doubt that the most important market for us in terms of size and trade exchange is the Saudi market. There is also Syria, which constitutes a market of greater importance than the Saudi market, even though the Saudi market is bigger in size than the Syrian market. We should note here that no complete statistics are available on the exchange volume with Syria. The agreement with Syria does not cover the exchange volume only. The importance of this agreement is embodied in the transport and transit movement also. Therefore, it can be said that Syria's market is a "passport" for Lebanese goods going to the Arab countries. This is why negotiations must be started with Syria on trade exchange, transport and transit movements. These are issues that affect the trade exchange with the other Arab countries. After Syria, negotiations must be started with Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and so forth.

[Question] The freeze in the Investments Insurance Establishment has its major negative effects on the industry. When will this establishment's problem be solved?

[Answer] The establishment is suffering from no major problems. But the term of its Board of Directors ended more than a year ago and it has been operating in the absence of this board. The issue of presenting a new chairman of the Board of Directors has been submitted to the cabinet and I believe that the solution to the problem is imminent.

[Question] The council's deputy chairman (Salim Diyab) said that the political situation has obstructed two important projects: the free industrial zones and export insurance. What point have these two projects reached?

[Answer] These two projects are of major importance to the national economy. The wheel of the economy cannot be turned without the presence of all the establishments. There has been a serious shortage of hard currency in the local market as a result of the decline of the investments which have decreased due to the unavailability of some basic services which are present in the rival countries. These establishments include:

- The Investment Insurance Establishment, which offers guarantees against war risks. This is a fundamental element for encouraging investment in the country.
- The Export Insurance Establishment, which constitutes a fundamental element for high-level investment in industry. Maximum importance is attached nowadays in all countries of the world to the guarantees given by well-known government agencies to the exports of the industrial establishments.

In the past 10 years, most of the neighboring Mediterranean countries have set up free industrial zones that offer specialized facilities and services and attract investments seeking to produce with the aim of exporting to the Arab, African and Asian countries. Lebanon had monopolized such zones in the past, even though they were not as big or as well organized as the zones we are proposing at present. Therefore, the establishment of these zones must be speeded up.

Why have we not started setting up these establishments yet? The answer is well known, namely because the founding of these establishments has been recommended by legislative decrees that are now being examined by a committee assigned to study them.

[Question] It has been noticed that the council's current plans have been channeled toward helping the industries to operate and produce normally whereas there are other destroyed and shut-down plants that need enormous financing. What is your role?

[Answer] Our role belongs to the private sector and nobody can rebuild and rehabilitate the destroyed plants other than their owners. The government's role is confined to negotiating with foreign countries to secure the credit necessary for purchasing equipment. This is what the council is currently working for with advanced countries such as France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the United States and with the East European countries. We are tackling with these countries the issue of raising the maximum for benefiting from the credits--the supplier's credits--offered by specialized organizations such as the Coface, EXIM Bank, Ducroire, Hermes and others). We are also trying to reduce the interest rate charged for these credits. We reached specific results with France last year, acquiring 1 billion French francs (Precoface) which were advanced to equip factories and production establishments.

We are also operating through bilateral agreements with a number of countries, especially within the EEC. All these agreements flow into the same objective.

[Question] It has been noticed that the council's tasks have been growing constantly whereas the council's manpower has remained frozen. Is there a plan to reinforce this group in the near future?

[Answer] Of course. We are in the process of developing proposals to complement the council's manpower outfit, especially abroad, after approval of the council's budget by the cabinet and after it becomes clear what its financial capabilities are. This is the first time in which the council has been given an independent budget. We believe that with the end of the current year, the council will have 11 economic missions abroad and that its internal cadre will be completed, especially insofar as the important job positions are concerned. It is normal that we move cautiously at this level in order that we may give the right position to the right person.

[Question] How do you view the economic situation next year, both in case there is internal political relaxation and in case the situation continues to be as it is?

[Answer] There is no doubt that we are experiencing the worst economic situation ever known to the country. The stifling economic crisis we are experiencing is about to topple the confidence which characterized Lebanon in the past. But the Lebanese economy has its distinguishing features, the most important being its ability to develop rapidly. This economy is not confined to Lebanon or to a certain sphere. The proof is that the Lebanese proceeded to work abroad when their production capabilities at home were destroyed, thus developing a starter and vast capabilities of Lebanese origin that are awaiting the initiative to return to the country. Therefore, should security and political relaxation develop, there is no doubt that Lebanese wealth will begin the return trip, even if slowly, and the expected revival will take place. It is certain that a period of 10-15 years will be needed to restore Lebanon to the level of the developing countries.

But even if the expected stability does not materialize, I disagree with those who say that Lebanon will end and that its economy will be destroyed because there are solutions and steps that can adapt the economy to the crisis under which we live. Here, an effective role must be played by the government because it must encourage the private sector to invest through a number of pilot projects, provided that certain guarantees be given to the projects and to the capital owners against non-commercial risks. The state must also offer varied privileges and facilities. Cooperation between the public and private sectors must also be strengthened in order that they may coexist with the crisis and stand fast until this crisis ends.

We have, on our part, submitted to the cabinet proposals to encourage private investment in Lebanon through a number of projects.

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SAUDI ARABIA

KING, VARIOUS POLICY LEADERS STRESS IMPORTANCE OF PALESTINE CAUSE

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 20-26 Feb 85 pp 10-13

[Article by 'Imad-al-Din Adib: "King Fahd to Reagan: The Palestine Cause, in the Saudi Context, Is No Less Important Than Our Bilateral Relations with You!"]

[Text] What was the outcome of the Saudi monarch King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz's visit to Washington? What were the real results whose effects will gradually appear in bilateral relations between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia? Has the most important goal of the visit, which is to encourage the American administration not to freeze its movement toward the Palestinian cause in particular and the Middle East in general, been realized? These are questions to which we present answers through a careful daily monitoring of the Saudi monarch's visit to Washington by Saudi sources in it, Arab diplomats and American sources.

It had not been imagined that the Saudi monarch would come to the American capital, after he had postponed his visit there twice, and that he would travel with the final solution to the Palestinian issue in his briefcase.

The solution to the Palestinian issue cannot be realized in a single visit or by the United States of America alone.

King Fahd knows full well that the solution to the Palestinian issue will basically depend on a unified Palestinian position which can acquire the desired Arab consensus.

The "Arab solution" to the Palestinian issue is "the solution."

The Saudi monarch, all during the recent period, specifically since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, has been sorrowfully and painfully following the fragmentation among the Arabs and trying, through Arab "mediation diplomacy," to "repair the tremendous rift in these relations."

The Saudi monarch, of course, would have preferred that there be a Palestinian agreement first of all, then an Arab agreement secondly, so that his talk to the American president on the Palestinian issue would be supported by well-defined Arab notions.

The Saudi monarch did not abandon himself to the fragmentations and rifts among the Arabs and did not lose faith in the ability to act and try to "repair the Arab rift."

As a well informed Saudi source described it, "The most difficult thing facing the Palestinian cause these days is that it is being put in the refrigerator of the American non-solution."

The Saudi monarch's visit to Washington was realistic and aware of the dimensions of the current Arab, Israeli and American positions.

Therefore, Saudi movement was on several levels:

First, the level of repairing inter-Arab relations.

Second, the level of convincing President Reagan's administration not to freeze its movement in the direction of the Palestinian issue.

One can say that two-thirds of the time spent in the meetings of the Saudi monarch and the delegation accompanying him concerned the Palestinian issue and Arab relations with the American administration. A lesser portion concerned bilateral relations between the two countries.

When AL-MAJALLAH asked former American president Jimmy Carter about his impression of his meeting with the Saudi monarch (text of the interview, page 14), Carter said, "I sensed an obvious optimism on the part of the Saudi monarch over the results of his talks with the American administration, and sensed that this visit managed to put the Middle East crisis back in its proper place in the American administration's priorities."

The president's priorities shortly before the Saudi monarch's visit were as follows:

First, domestic affairs were the most important area of Reagan's concerns. The issue of "tax reform" lay at the top of domestic issues, with the goal of keeping President Reagan's most important election promise, economic reform regarding the balance of payments, so that the extreme deficit in the balance, which the Democratic leader Jesse Jackson has called "the coming millstone of the deficit," would be reduced.

As regards foreign policy, American-Soviet relations represented Reagan's most important priority before the Saudi monarch's visit, specifically in the area of arriving at an agreement on the limitation of nuclear weapons and what is known as star wars. Then after that came conditions in Central America, American-European relations and American relations with Australia and New Zealand, which had become tense as a result of New Zealand's refusal to permit American warships to enter its territorial waters without inspection. The Middle East crisis assumed the following position.

With respect to the Middle East issue, American attention was arranged in the following order:

1. The United States' relations with Israel and support for the Israeli economy by means of additional aid or the pursuit of radical reforms by the present government.

2. Followup of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

3. The Iraqi-Iranian war.

At the bottom of the list came the Palestinian issue.

The purpose of this complicated description has been to show the delicate nature of the task the Saudi monarch performed.

When he went to Washington, the Arab position was not united and American domestic issues took precedence over foreign ones. The Middle East issue assumed an extremely low position in the list of American priorities, and the Palestinian issue lay at the bottom of American concerns over Middle East affairs.

What a difficult task it was!

No Solution without the Palestinian Cause

It was clear from the first reception in the White House garden that the Saudi monarch wanted to inform the American president that he had come primarily to get the American role regarding the Palestinian issue in movement. It was clear from the detailed review the Saudi monarch presented at the meeting between himself and Reagan in isolation, then in the presence of the delegations of the two countries and then at the special breakfast held the following day that King Fahd wanted to convey a message to Reagan based on three essential elements:

The first element: a freeze or suspension in the American role regarding the Middle East for any reason would harm the region and American interests.

The second element: Reagan's administration must not put in abeyance the use of its special relationship with Israel to urge it to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The third element: Palestinian-American dialogue was necessary in order that bridges could be built for mutual understanding of these people's just cause.

As he was doing this, the Saudi monarch realized that he was getting close to an American area which was planted with a number of mines laid by Jewish pressure groups and Zionist forces.

These forces do not want any growth in Saudi-American relations, do not want any progress in commercial relations or weapons ties between the two, and do not want the United States to open any dialogue with representatives of the Palestinian people.

Thus, this became the equation regarding the two sides to the struggle. Israel and its supporters want a "freeze" in the American role; movement would mean a call for negotiations, and negotiations would mean requiring Israel to relinquish the occupied territories.

Meanwhile, the Arab party takes the position of trying to convince the Reagan administration of the need for diplomatic activity because the dangers of a freeze or suspension of the American role are a threat to Palestinian, Arab and American interests.

The Saudi party's emphasis in all the rounds of discussions was on an essential point, which was that "the dangers of a freeze are greater than the dangers of movement."

What can be confirmed on the pages of AL-MAJALLAH is that the Saudi monarch managed to convince President Reagan of the need to get the American role moving.

Here we come to the second essential point, the "context of the movement."

It was obvious that in the joint declaration between the two countries, the American party, for the first time, was concerned to present two positive aspects:

First, assertion of continued American movement in the Middle East.

Second, admission, for the first time, that there were positive features in the Arabs' Fez initiative.

A Saudi official said "The American party talked about the positive features of Fez and the Saudi party did not respond to it by talking about the positive aspects of the Reagan peace initiative. This means that we are asserting our commitment to what the Arabs agreed to in Fez and have taken something from the American side but given nothing!"

It is clear that the American side was aware of the importance of the official Saudi assertion concerning a future American role relative to the Palestinian issue.

It was in no way a coincidence that in phrasing an impromptu statement in response to President Reagan during the dinner President Reagan held in King Fahd's honor, where the conversation had been friendly and revolved about "sports and soccer," the Saudi monarch, as the American papers described it, said "We are thinking of sending our Saudi soccer team to the Soviet Union and China in order to obtain expertise and to play in new tournaments."

Of course the reference was not lost to the American side, nor to the American papers which were the basic source of this statement.

Contrary to what has been said, and what was expected, the impression that arose from the role George Shultz played in these talks was extremely positive.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned that the American secretary of state expressed very strong understanding of the Saudi position and personal affection for King Fahd, that he listened to all the Saudi conceptions regarding the need for American movement toward the creation of a just solution to the Palestinian issue, and also that he was interested in the analyses presented to him by the Saudi party concerning conditions in the Middle East.

Richard Murphy, the American assistant secretary of state, has been quoted as making the following points in his review of the results of the Saudi-American consultations:

"The first meeting between King Fahd and President Reagan, which took place in the White House and lasted an hour and a half, consisted of a bilateral meeting for a period of half an hour, then a meeting for a period of another hour in which the members of the two delegations took part.

"King Fahd dealt at the beginning of the meeting with Arab conditions in general, then the situation in the Gulf, developments in the Iraqi-Iranian war, the situation in Lebanon, the need for a total Israeli withdrawal and Lebanon's sovereignty over its own territory."

Murphy said that President Reagan sensed great insistence on the king's part regarding the Palestinian issue and the point that it is the basis for stability. King Fahd asked the American president to move to solve this crisis. Murphy said, "President Reagan stressed that Israel will withdraw from Lebanon."

The fact is that Richard Murphy and Robert MacFarlane, Reagan's national security advisor, are the two national security affairs figures in the Reagan administration, are working behind the scenes without publicity or media concentration and both believe that a freeze in movement in the Middle East could harm American interests in the Near East in favor of the Soviet Union.

As regards the American-Soviet meeting between Richard Murphy and Poliakov in Geneva, whose sessions will begin in a few days, AL-MAJALLAH has obtained what one could call the principles on whose basis the American party will proceed in this conference:

First, this meeting, from the American standpoint, is not considered to constitute negotiations or discussions; rather, the American party considers it a presentation and exchange of ideas by the two sides.

Second, the American party still believes that the formula of an international conference has not been considered appropriate in any way within the American administration at the present time and that the Reagan administration's view of an international conference is that would be "non-functional."

Third, the American side will discuss four issues with the Soviet side, the Palestinian issue, the situation in Lebanon, the Gulf war and the Soviet Union's positions on Soviet Jews!

Fourth, the Americans believe that they have "a network of relations with the countries of the area which should be considered stronger than at any time in the past."

An informed Arab diplomat has told AL-MAJALLAH that the Americans will be using their Middle East cards at the present time to obtain a better agreement on the nuclear weapons limitation agreement and star wars, and that the Arab side must know that American progress in the Middle East at present constitutes part of the framework of the important card games taking place in areas of tension throughout the world.

The Hidden War

It was clear that all the issues of the Arab area and American-Soviet relations, with their complications, which have clearly entered into the course of American-Saudi talks, are now interconnected. The degree of tension which the Jewish Zionist lobby experienced during this visit was also apparent, especially since the visit took place at a time when congress was not in session, at a period when congressmen make crucial trips to collect donations and money to finance their political campaigns.

The day following the visit, Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, gave angry statements to the English-language Israeli newspaper JERUSALEM POST in which he attacked King Fahd's visit to the United States and said "Real progress toward peace can occur in the region only when a direct dialogue takes place between the Arabs and the Israelis. The Saudi monarch has not presented anything new. He has repeated the same positions of hostility toward Israel."

When AL-MAJALLAH asked an American official for his interpretation of Shamir's statement, the official said "I would like this statement not to be attributed to me, but I can assure you that Israel would like a dialogue with the Arabs -- in the absence of the American side, however." He added, "Even if the United States accepts the formula of an international conference, Israel will reject it totally."

The morning of the last day of the Saudi monarch's visit to Washington, a spokesman for the Pentagon (the American Department of Defense) stated quietly, without commotion in the media, that the United States would respond to Saudi defense requirements and would sell an electronic air defense system which was able to distinguish between hostile and friendly aircraft at a cost of \$250 million.

The obvious impression the Saudi and American sides had was "extreme confidence in the possibility that the F-15 airplane transaction would be completed on Saudi Arabia's behalf in the course of a few months."

The Saudi and American sides were anxious to stress to the Arab and foreign media that the F-15 transaction was not discussed during this visit but that it was certain that at all the meetings which took place between the Saudi side and President Reagan, State Secretary Schultz, Defense Secretary Weinberger and Robert MacFarlane the American administration reiterated that

there was a constant American determination to respond to Saudi Arabia's defense needs.

Bandar's Trip

The visit Prince Bandar ibn Sultan, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to Washington, made to Damascus the same day King Fahd's visit to Washington ended was a surprise to everyone.

Many American newspapers tried to link the Saudi monarch's visit with that of Prince Bandar to Damascus.

However, AL-MAJALLAH has confirmed that Prince Bandar, on assignment from the Saudi monarch, informed President Hafiz al-Asad of the integrated Saudi evaluation of the latest political efforts regarding conditions in the region and that this visit complemented recent Saudi-Syrian consultations, which started with the visit of Saudi Crown Prince 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz to the Syrian capital a week before King Fahd's arrival in Washington.

Partial information on the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement emerged in the atmosphere of the Saudi monarch's visit to Washington.

The two parties committed themselves to commenting on these discussions by saying "The complete text of this agreement has not yet been received and therefore any comment would be premature."

An American official was attributed as saying "President Reagan will urge Arab leaders to support relations between King Husayn and Mr Yasir 'Arafat."

The American official stated "The Jordanian monarch is happy to play the role of Arab negotiator by proxy for the Palestinians, but he believes that he cannot be 'effective' or 'legitimate' in playing this role without receiving the agreement of the Arab side. This includes the agreement of the Palestinians."

AL-MAJALLAH has learned from informed Arab sources that Richard MacFarlane, the American president's advisor on national security affairs, believes that the success of the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement will depend on four basic elements:

1. The emergence of Arab agreement that the movement in that agreement is dynamic.
2. The emergence of a sort of Jordanian-Palestinian understanding with Syria, so that it will not become part of Damascus' calculations that this agreement is basically a blow aimed against it. Both MacFarlane and Murphy believe that the Syrian role in "advancing" or "obstructing" this agreement is the basic one.
3. Peres' success in "reaching an understanding" or resolving the struggle between himself and Shamir within the current warring coalition cabinet!

4. The Soviet Union's abstention from putting pressure on Syria and 'Arafat's leadership for the sake of freezing or spoiling this agreement.

When some people tried to give interpretations regarding the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's position on the agreement, the answer they received from the Saudi side was that Riyadh's firm position is that it supports what the Palestinians reach agreement over, that it also aspires to a kind of Arab agreement or unanimity over any crucial Arab step and that Saudi Arabia does not play the game of an interlocutor, does not stand with the Syrians against the Palestinians and Jordanians, and does not stand against Syria for the sake of the interests of the Palestinians and Jordanians. The Saudi position is aimed at attainment of Arab agreement which will safeguard the Arabs' dignity and land, and this can be realized only through Arab consensus.

Bilateral Relations

Following the conclusion of his meetings with the American side, Shaykh Muhammad Aba al-Khayl, the Saudi minister of finance, expressed his contentment with the results which were reached during the Saudi monarch's visit to Washington.

It is necessary to assert that economic and commercial relations play a vital role in relations between Washington and Riyadh, since Saudi Arabia's purchases from the United States total \$5 billion and it is expected that they will increase by 20 percent a year in the next few years.

To put these relations in the proper perspective, if we compare this relationship to that the United States has with one of its old commercial partners, France, whose population is a number of times greater than the Saudi population, we will reach the conclusion that commercial relations between Riyadh and Washington are twice as great as those between Paris and Washington.

In the latest 5-year development plan, Saudi Arabia made contracts with various American organizations for projects costing a total of \$20 billion.

Experts estimate that Saudi financial investments in the United States have created three quarters of a million jobs and that Saudi oil runs machines, equipment and jobsites in which 5 million Americans work.

In brief, one could say that 20 million American families benefit directly or indirectly from American-Saudi economic relations.

All this, in addition to many other elements, prompts President Reagan's administration, as it makes its calculations, to think repeatedly of keeping relations between Washington and Riyadh from reaching a delicate stage.

This has all prompted a high level Saudi political source, commenting on the results of King Fahd's visit to Washington, to state that "The visit succeeded in its basic goals and the American administration realizes that if the Saudi monarch is angry, that will have its effect in the Arab region."

SAUDI ARABIA

PLANNING CHIEF DESCRIBES GOALS, VENTURES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 20-26 Feb 85 pp 32-35

[Interview with Planning Minister Hisham Nazir by Hasin al-Bunyan: "A Journey of 13 Years of Achievements; The Saudi Planning Minister: We Will Defeat All Campaigns To Cast Doubts"]

[Text] The Saudi minister of planning, Hisham Nazir, answers people who ask him whether "material resources," which have been available in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, are what has helped the country realize the development plans' ambitions and achievements over the past 13 years by saying: "The availability of material resources has helped in the attainment of the goals, because the availability of material resources has enabled it to attract the best experts, mobilize technology and shorten time. However, the attainment of development is a matter which exceeds mere material resources. It requires a determination which does not admit of fatigue, a faith which does not admit of despair and courage to rush into the future through all its doors. On top of all the foregoing, it requires 'planning,' proper administration and flexibility which enables the person who is making his way to change course." Minister Nazir went on to state "The kingdom is now continuing to take off from the stage of a strategy of balance in the two development plans, the first and the second, to the stage of diversification of the productive base and creation of a real transformation in the country's economic structure through the third development plan, which is being carried out at present."

AL-MAJALLAH tried to pursue the young minister who divides his official activity between the Ministry of Planning building, which is "modest" in terms of engineering and planning but is "great" inside, since qualified young Saudi intellectuals mingle with computers, calculators, maps, designs and models, and the "planning" building of the two greatest, most massive outlets for petroleum and chemicals in Saudi Arabia, on the coast of the Arab Gulf and the Red Sea, the building of the Royal Industrialization Authority in al-Jubayl and Yanbu', where he works as the assistant to the chairman of the authority, the Saudi monarch, King Fahd. AL-MAJALLAH also kept up with experts and specialists, as well as files and maps, wherever the minister went, moving between the headquarters of his ministry on al-Jami'ah street in the capital and the headquarters of the Royal Authority for al-Jubayl and

Yanbu' in al-Ahsa' Street, where he covers the distance in his car in no more than half an hour's time.

Information which has been confirmed by AL-MAJALLAH indicates that the fourth 5-year development plan in Saudi Arabia will be approved in 2 months at a meeting of the Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of the Saudi monarch, King Fahd, when the government budget for the coming fiscal year is approved. The Saudi Council of Ministers approved the strategy for this plan on 1 December 1983. The goals of the plan were defined as follows:

First:

Preservation of Islamic values and application and implantation of God's law.

Defense of religion and the nation and preservation of the country's security and social stability.

Training of productive, working citizens by providing subsidiary resources for bringing them to this stage, creation of a source of sustenance for them and definition of their compensation in accordance with their work.

Development of manpower, constant assertion of its increased supply and the enhancement of its capability to serve all sectors.

Promotion of cultural activity to a level which will cause it to keep abreast of the development the kingdom is going through.

Reduction of reliance on the production and export of crude oil as a main source of national income.

The continued creation of real change in the country's economic structure through constant transformation in the direction of diversification of the productive base, by emphasizing industry and agriculture.

The development of mineral resources and encouragement of exploration for them and production of them.

Emphasis on the development of quality by improving and developing the performance of utilities and facilities that have been constructed during the country's three development plans.

Completion of the basic facilities necessary to bring about comprehensive development.

Attainment of economic and social integration among the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Second:

The strategic bases for attaining the abovementioned goals are as follows:
the first strategic basis: emphasis on improvement of the economic level of

the production of services, utilities, and products the government offers to citizens directly, such as education and security services, and indirectly, such as electricity, transportation and basic commodities.

It is possible to improve economic performance by:

Reducing the cost of the extent and scope of these services in areas which go beyond reasonable limits, for instance, limiting exaggerated specifications in building projects and operating projects.

Reducing the cost of producing these services and utilities.

Using technology in all areas of public services through the use of mechanical equipment and advanced methods.

Emphasizing technical methods which are mobilized for the requirements of particular characteristics of the domestic economy, such as mechanical labor, the use of salt water for farming and other methods.

Passing judgment on the economic feasibility of projects, whether that is based on the costs of operating them, maintaining them, administering them or repairing them, and not just on the cost of constructing them.

Encouraging and urging citizens to invest in feasible industries which are based on local raw materials and use production methods which require a minimum of manpower and consume the minimum possible amount of critical materials such as water.

Encouraging investment in large agricultural projects which use machines and modern irrigation methods and urging founders to establish them as companies, while continuing to encourage individual investments in agriculture.

Supporting the tendency to invest in projects which apply new technological discoveries and offer the kingdom economic benefits which they possess, or for which there is urgent need, such as projects to produce solar energy, modern methods of irrigation and the use of protected farming.

Supporting applied research centers and programs.

Requiring all projects to include the necessary maintenance and operating programs in the future along with their annual costs, with the reduction of maintenance requirements to be taken into consideration as much as possible in the design of the projects.

Maintenance activities must include the presence of a preventive maintenance program which will be determined by the life of the unit or its rate of operation.

Unifying technical specifications in projects in order to facilitate and reduce maintenance operations.

Requiring the presence of a program for training in the operation of equipment in order to eliminate operating errors.

Inserting general principles in the curricula at post-primary academic levels which will help individuals perform simple maintenance requirements.

Encouraging the private sector to invest in maintenance.

Selecting centers for growth in areas which are capable of absorbing productive projects, and supporting them to attract inhabitants from surrounding areas where resources for growth are not present.

Concentrating on the use of trained Saudi manpower in important permanent facilities and developing administrative organization in a manner which is in keeping with the new needs of the society.

The Second Basis

The second strategic basis: Assumption of the policy of paving the way for the private sector to pursue many economic tasks in the country on grounds that the government should not carry out any economic activity which might lead it to act as an intermediary for the private sector. This policy could come about by:

Providing an opportunity to the private sector to operate, administer, maintain and repair some facilities the government is now running, on condition that real benefits be derived from that in terms of cost reduction, proper performance and the employment of citizens.

Providing an opportunity for investment and participation in the ownership and management of the basic industries the government is establishing by offering shares in SABIC and Petromin companies to the private sector and getting it actually to participate in running them at the proper time.

Reviewing some methods, policies and systems in the government in a manner which will enable the private sector to operate with greater freedom and flexibility and help with innovation and development, for instance making pricing restrictions on private hospitals and clinics equitable for investors and citizens, organizing the system of commercial courts, developing judiciary writing and so forth.

Encouraging cooperative societies and private philanthropical and commercial organizations to carry out economic and social projects, such as operating private sanatoria and clinics and constructing charitable institutions, tourist areas and recreational centers.

Encouraging commercial banks to increase their facilities for productive projects rather than concentrating them on import trade.

Encouraging the establishment of further corporations with the goal of investing in large projects for which better economic resources are available in order to get a greater number of citizens to use investment operations.

Creating means which the government will supervise for transactions in company stocks with the goal of encouraging investment and eliminating the dangers of financial speculation.

Acquiring private sector participation in setting out and carrying out training programs.

Seeking to increase efficiency and intensify special programs to acquaint citizens with the investment opportunities available in the productive sector.

Carrying out further studies on marketing investment opportunities and economic feasibility studies for projects in the productive sectors.

Periodically introducing investors to the results of the studies the bodies concerned with mining carry out, encouraging investors to start the exploitation of services available, providing scope for companies to exploit mines discovered and encouraging investment by various means such as the creation of basic facilities.

Granting priority to qualified Saudi contractors and writers in the execution of various projects. In the event any project is awarded to a foreign company, it will commit itself to assign Saudi contractors a percentage of the work the project entails.

Analyzing projects whenever that is possible technically and economically in order to enable Saudi companies to take part in their execution.

Encouraging the establishment of national companies to invest money domestically.

Third and Fourth

The third strategic basis: guidance of direct and indirect subsidies the government offers for many goods and services. That can come about by:

Reducing the rates of subsidies the government offers for commodities and services in a manner which will guide their consumption and will not greatly affect people with low incomes.

Concentrating in all government departments which manage public service systems in the government on making the economic spirit the basic program for the management of their affairs, in accordance with two basic principles, first, reducing costs and producing these services for the Saudi society and second, keeping the price of sales of these services below their cost only rarely, on provision that their prices be reviewed periodically.

The fourth strategic basis: making the economic view prevail whenever that is possible in government investment and expenditure decisions. This may come about by:

Making water a basic element and important criterion in evaluating the economic competence of government projects, as with foreign labor or increases in the inflation rate.

Promoting the development of natural resources with future economic promise, such as the search for mineral and marine resources, determination of regions, development of these resources, exploitation of available gas and processing of the gas to the maximum extent possible.

Vertically and horizontally expanding the petrochemical and gas and oil product industry through the private sector or mixed companies when their economic feasibility is established.

Increasing the refining capacity of refined oil products to the maximum possible extent, on condition that economic feasibility exist.

The fifth strategic basis: continued development of manpower by evaluating education and training programs and curricula and carrying out the development or amendment this evaluation requires in a manner which is in keeping with Islamic law, the changing requirements of the society and the demands of development. That may come about through:

Obligatory education in regard to the primary level for boys and girls.

Definition of percentages for each level after the intermediate level in a manner which will guarantee that further groups are directed toward specialized technical institutes.

Evaluation of university education programs and curricula, especially as regards admissions policy.

Definition of the scope and foundations for women's work in a manner which does not conflict with the pure Islamic religion.

Limitation on stipends given to male and female university students for specializations which are granted to the male and female students in the university for specializations for which it is considered that incentives should be made available, including technical education and vocational training.

Specific care and training with emphasis on advanced technology at its intermediate and higher levels.

The requirement that training be in keeping with the actual requirements of the economy in terms of quality and degree of competence.

Increased emphasis on training with the goal of encouraging training on the job.

The assignment of exceptional importance to libraries, in order to accustom students to reading and gaining information, provide them with general education and acquaint them with ways of benefiting from it.

Development of the Society

The sixth strategic basis: attention to the development of society and the provision of the necessary social and health care for it, helping it to contribute to carrying out development programs and benefiting from their production by:

Enlightening members of the society in the goals of development and requirements and dealing with its instruments through:

Enlightenment through the media concerning the importance of work as a religious and social value with the goal of changing the attitudes of members of the society toward crafts and occupations which do not meet with acceptance from some citizens.

The spread of culture through the encouragement of authorship, the spread of public libraries, the establishment of museums and the preservation of archaeological and historic sites.

Establishment of the national library which can include a catalogue system for every Saudi writer.

Increased attention to the disabled and the introduction of national programs to provide them with qualifications and look after them.

Care for children in all areas and at all levels.

Introduction of the system of compulsory military service.

Introduction of the system of military upbringing in secondary schools.

Expansion of anti-illiteracy and adult education programs.

Increased attention to programs of society which are concentrated on getting citizens to participate and contribute to the planning and execution of local projects.

Attention to preventive medicine and health guidance and increased efficiency in organizations and remedies in order to protect the citizen, while expanding health programs.

Improvement of individuals's resources by increasing their incomes in order to eliminate social imbalance.

Increased attention to social care programs in all areas and the effort to get the private sector to take part in carrying them out, by encouraging the establishment of further private philanthropic societies.

Continuation and development of programs to protect the environment.

Increased attention to youth care programs in a manner which will develop their abilities and get them to acquire intellectual and physical skills in the areas of culture, science and sports.

The seventh strategic basis: in order to realize the second goal mentioned above, defense and security bodies are preparing a strategy on which the defense and security plan will be based in a manner which will ensure the protection of the nation. This will be presented to the National Security Council preparatory to its presentation to the Cabinet of Ministers.

The eighth strategic basis: the pursuit of a fiscal policy which will bring about compatibility between the volume of spending and the government's revenues over the period of life of the fourth plan, with emphasis on:

Commitment to the development goals and the strategic bases mentioned above in the allocation of projects.

Project allocation which takes into account the costs of operating, maintaining, replacing and managing projects over their period of life.

This strategy is authorized as a basis for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's fourth development plan (1985-1990).

As we have reviewed the accomplishments of Saudi Arabia's three 5-year development plans, we will pause to consider a statement the minister of planning made, stating "I will not express these achievements in terms of our being totally satisfied with what we have done." The minister went on to say, "Much of what we must do on behalf of our country and our citizens in order to complete the course still lies before us."

He added, "These accomplishments involve matters which inspire confidence in this country's future and its abilities, its people's determination, and their faith and insistence on transcending all obstacles and impediments which stand in their way and defeating all campaigns to cast doubts which try to inhibit their course."

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SYRIA

PRESIDENT CONTROLS RIVALS IN REGIONAL CONGRESS

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[Article: "At the Regional Congress of the Syrian Ba'th Party, Hafiz al-Asad is the Biggest Winner"]

[Text] The regional congress of the Syrian Ba'th Party ended last week, after 16 days of discussions attended by 800 members representing various party organizations. The debates were not devoid of verbal exchanges and attempts by some to impose their views on the conferees, as is only natural for all congresses. However, in view of all the rumors which spread throughout Syria during the Syrian president's stay in the hospital, and the accompanying activities of some members of the regime, which ended with the removal of some leaders and the reassignment of others once al-Asad got better, and the major role which Syria has successfully played on the Lebanese, Arab and international scene, this congress acquired a particular significance which caused political observers to follow it attentively. AL-MAJALLAH here presents a special report on the activities of the Ba'th Party congress and the results it achieved, in an attempt to give a clear idea of Syrian activity on various levels over the next few years.

In accordance with the internal by-laws of most socialist parties, the party congress is the highest authority. Such parties feel that the congress, which represents all the party's branches and during which the leadership is elected and is called to account for those parts of the party program which it has or has not implemented, is a democratic act far more progressive than the Western democracies and far better suited to expressing "popular aspirations."

In its internal structure, the Syrian Ba'th Party is no different from other socialist parties. No matter what is said about this type of democracy, it ensures a particular form of popular representation based on the assumption that the authorities will be held accountable when formulating future party policies.

In a country like Syria, the executive authority seems to be subordinate to two powers: the parliament, which supervises it before and after the party congress, and the congress itself. Such regimes are predominant among Third World socialist countries.

The Syrian leadership, and therefore the party's executive committee, must submit to the congress members detailed reports on their accomplishments in past years and their future plans in various areas. What did the leadership submit? What did the congress decide?

The Atmosphere at the Congress

From the very first day of the congress, it was obvious that the Syrian president, through his shrewdness and quick action, was able to impose a sort of strict party order on the congress members, while not depriving them of the opportunity to discuss various issues thoroughly. He cut off some of the extremist party members who had intended to attack some leading figures in an attempt to remove them from positions of authority.

Reports indicate that a rival trend led by Rif'at al-Asad, the president's brother, proposed an alternative formula calling for dispensing with all the vice presidents and replacing them with a single vice president who would be elected at the same time as the president and in the same manner. However, this formula failed, and the old formula was retained, out of fear of a return to last year's state of polarization, which the Syrian president ended by banishing his brother from Damascus and by making several basic changes in the military leadership to guarantee that the army would not meddle in politics. Thus the door remained open to Rif'at al-Asad, who was re-elected to the new command, and to Vice Presidents Khaddam and Zuhayr Mushariqah, whereby they could retain their positions, if the president so decreed, after his re-election on 12 March.

The congress praised the steps taken by the authorities against the smuggling rings being run by some influential people, and called them "a first step" towards re-examining the structure of the economy as a whole. Prior to the congress, al-Asad had adopted several economic measures to encourage national capital. Many expatriate Syrian merchants are said to have begun transferring large amounts of money to Syrian banks, which has provided the treasury with hard currency to pay for some of Syria's many needs.

AL-MAJALLAH has also learned that an attempt was made to bring together many of the senior military officers by incorporating them into the 75-member Central Committee. However, this attempt also did not meet with the required acceptance of the congress members, who felt that it would be much better for these military officers to stay where they are than to meddle in political and organizational work, which could be done by young party members who have gained experience in this sort of work in popular organizations and bodies.

Some observers were expecting dramatic changes in high political leadership positions, especially in sensitive and influential positions. However, that has not happened, and the congress made it clear that President Hafiz al-Asad has tightened his grip on the domestic situation, and has finally come to control the holders of "key" posts without impinging on their positions and jurisdictions, since Rif'at al-Asad kept his position, as

did Khaddam and Talas. During the congress, it became clear that these three were not rebelling against the set-up of the congress, which the Syrian president was personally very keen on. The only change on the leadership level, which took place without any direct political indications, was the dismissal of Former Prime Minister Mahmud al-Ayyubi, Interior Minister Nasir-al-Din Nasir, National Security Official Ahmad Diyab, and Ilyas al-Lati from the 21-member Regional Command, which reports directly to President al-Asad. The reasons for their dismissal were not announced, and both Nasir and Diyab will retain their positions for the present.

The congress gave the Syrian president authority to dismiss members of the Central Committee of the party and the Regional Command. The congress also decided to replace 29 Central Committee members and expand its membership to 90 members instead of 75. Who will President al-Asad dismiss in the near future? No clear answer to this question can be expected until 2 months from now, after the presidential elections in March.

On the Arab Level

Naturally, the Arab scene was exhaustively discussed by the congress members. In view of their interrelation, the Lebanese and Palestinian issues received a major share of the discussions.

AL-MAJALLAH learned that in some of their reports, the congress members reviewed the Lebanese crisis from its inception, and placed the major burden of responsibility on the Phalangists and the "Lebanese Forces" for having pawned themselves to Israel and for having tried to set up alternative organizations in order to establish a sectarian state, as manifested by their expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians, so that the new state's structure would show a sectarian majority character. The congress members also held the "traditional" Palestinian leadership largely responsible for the Lebanese war, since this leadership had tried to "impose its complete control over one-third of Lebanon without restraining this control so as to serve the Palestinian cause. Thus Israeli intelligence, because of the widespread chaos in Palestinian-controlled areas, was able to encroach on Lebanon's security and carry out its plots."

The congress members did not spare the Lebanese "nationalist parties," accusing them of submitting to "Palestinian domination," in time becoming tools "used by 'Arafat any way he wished."

As for the former government in Lebanon, that of Ilyas Sarkis, one of the reports said that he played a negative role in Lebanon and stood by as a helpless observer, not carrying out his responsibilities or making use of the material and moral support given by Syria and other Arab countries.

The congress members spent a long time on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, connecting it with American activity in the region.

With respect to the Arab situation, the congress members stressed the need to continue the struggle with the Zionist entity, achieve Arab solidarity, and "avoid Hashemite struggles."

The congress members expressed their opinion that the current regime in Egypt has given no indications that it is any different from al-Sadat's regime. They felt that some of the indications referred to by some Arabs in this context will remain purely formal and superficial "as long as the Egyptian regime affirms its commitment to the Camp David agreements and the peace treaty with the Israeli enemy." The congress members also rejected Egypt's return to the Arab fold until it renounces its commitment to the above-mentioned agreements.

We can summarize the views of the congress on the Arab situation as follows.

1. Syria should continue to support the "Lebanese who are resisting the invasion."
2. The resolutions of the Palestine National Council which met in 'Amman should be rejected and "considered illegitimate."
3. Egypt's return to the Arab ranks should be rejected as long as it does not renounce the peace treaty.
4. "Open dialog" with all Arab states should be maintained, without implying any Syrian commitment other than that "dictated by the national interest."

This last point, although worded vaguely, is very meaningful, and suggests a new trend which the Syrian president might initiate as soon as he is elected.

On the International Level

The congress held the United States of America basically responsible for the wars which Israel has waged on the Arab world, and stressed the need to strengthen relations with the Soviet Union. The congress also discussed at length the strategic balance between Syria and Israel. There was unofficial talk of "following a policy of self-reliance without abandoning allies and friends."

As soon as the congress ended, Soviet Leader Chernenko sent a congratulatory telegram to President al-Asad which said, "Let me take this opportunity to express my pleasure with the successful development of comprehensive bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and parties, which received new impetus as a result of your visit to Moscow last October." This final sentence can be taken to mean that the Soviet leader was refuting the doubts which accompanied al-Asad's visit at that time, and affirming that the visit was successful. This in itself gives al-Asad new assurance and confirms his deep alliance with the Soviets. This assurance came from the Kremlin itself, so that neither the Syrian president nor his information media have to confirm it or deny rumors of a certain prevailing chilliness in Soviet-Syrian relations.

The most important outcome of the Ba'th Party congress may perhaps be the consolidation of al-Asad's leadership and the confirmation of his victory over influential forces without being forced to take dramatic steps. Thus once again al-Asad has proven that he is capable of solving domestic problems and forming a united front out of various leaders who, although strong and shrewd, have accepted conditions within Syria and surrounding it.

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IRAN

KHAMENE'I WARNS BIG POWERS, INVITES DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO UNITE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Feb 85 pp 6, 22

[Text] The people of Tehran and the provincial cities held the spiritual and enemy-breaking Friday prayers, this awesome Mohammadan ceremony, in the political-worship meeting places in the various cities of our Islamic nation with unmatched grandeur. The Tehran prayers were held in the University of Tehran and the streets around it, led by the Friday imam of Tehran, on the anniversary of the blessed day of the return of the imam of the nation.

Yesterday, Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the Friday imam of our city, stood in prayer in a place which is a reminder of our magnificent Islamic revolution. In those days of bullets and blood, the struggling and God-seeking people of Tehran could not be calm and tranquil for one moment in the place where today knowledge, religion and politics have joined. In those days, the University was a center of the people's struggle against the tyrant. The sounds of bullets were heard from every direction and at every given moment, a tall, manly figure would fall to the ground. The blood of these self-sacrificing people who believed in God and justice colored the streets and the grounds of the University, and the tree of the revolution grew large with their blood. Those unforgettable historical days came and went, and every day the number of martyrs increased, until we reached 1 February 1979. From midnight on 31 January, various groups decorated the streets in preparation for a magnificent welcome. At dawn on 1 February, the streets filled with crowds.

The airport was filled with enthusiasm and the streets were burning with the desire of the crowd awaiting the imam. Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery was a sea of crowds. The imam had sent a message that upon arriving in our Islamic nation, he would deliver a speech to the people at the resting place of the martyrs of the revolution. Perhaps in those moments when the

vehicle carrying the imam was passing in front of the University, no one thought that this place of struggle, knowledge and martyrdom would become a place of worship, politics and knowledge. The imam passed through the crowds of people and reached Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery, where he delivered his unforgettable, historic speech. The struggle continued and achieved victory on 11 February. In the following days, the imam issued the decree for Friday prayers. The University of Tehran was decided upon as the place to hold the Friday prayers. Today, after seven years [as published], the president and Friday imam of Tehran stood to pray in a place which is reminiscent of numerous heroic acts and memories, a place upon whose grounds and surrounding streets the blood of many martyrs has been spilt.

Truly, we miss the martyrs who would have been among us; would that they could see how, today, those who tread in their path perform these Mohammadan ceremonies most magnificently, in an assembly of millions led by Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i.

They must know that our people will continue their path until the day that Mohammadan justice is established in all parts of the world.

In addition to the presence of a million people at the magnificent ceremonies of the Tehran Friday prayers, a large number of foreign guests who participated in the magnificent 10 days of Fajr were also present. The ceremonies began with the recitation of verses from the Koran. Then revolutionary songs were performed by a group of students. The speaker before the Tehran prayer sermons was Hojjat ol-Eslam Amini.

Offering his congratulations to the Islamic country, the martyr-nurturing nation and the Muslims of the world on the anniversary of the arrival of Imam Khomeyni, he said: Undoubtedly, the event of that day, that is, the arrival of the imam of the nation to Iran and the victory of the revolution, is a historical event which is unmatched in the world, because the two sides in the conflict were not comparable.

On one side was the nation, without any kind of military, propaganda or foreign support resources, with only the power of faith and Islam, and on the other side, confronting this crowd was a Satanic, tyrannical power with all the resources, weapons and support of the oppressive powers of the world as well as other governments, able to use the thinking minds of the world, the intelligence agencies and all the propaganda means.

He added: It is astonishing that this nation gained victory over such a power empty handed. Once the people wanted Imam Khomeyni, the mention of whose name was prohibited at one time, he came and the nation became victorious.

In connection with the return of the imam to Iran, he said: When the imam arrived in Iran, the people's hearts were thumping in expectation of what he would say. At Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery, he said: I will strike this government on the mouth and I will myself appoint a government. And we see that the Islamic government is still in place.

He said: In a world in which two oppressive powers are in control, the Iranian nation presented Islam to the world and proved that it is possible to gain victory without reliance on the superpowers and only with Islam.

In connection with the reason for the victory of the Islamic revolution, quoting Koranic verses, he said: God will not change the social conditions of any nation unless they change their spiritual and psychological characteristics and moral conditions.

Before the revolution, the nation was Muslim. They followed the Islamic laws to the extent which was obligatory or recommended and carried out some of the Islamic injunctions. They had also heard about the struggles and heroism of the Muslims and companions of the Prophet at the dawn of Islam. But values were hidden within the souls of the people. The people knew the power of Islam and were tormented to hear that Islam had lost its power. Our people knew of the justice, self-sacrifice and generosity of the Muslims at the dawn of Islam and of the infallible imams and essentially wanted Islam for the same reason. Through his leadership, the imam awakened this hidden issue in the soul of the people. The imam said: What has been lost is Islam; your great problem is that you have forgotten Islam. This statement of the imam penetrated the hearts and minds of the people and set them in motion. The nation felt with all its being that the voices of the Prophet, the infallible imams and their supporters came from the mouth of the imam and the most important element of our victory was Islamic values and faith, of which the East and the West were uninformed.

Then, mentioning two examples of the changes in the internal values of the Muslim nation of Iran to Islamic values, he quoted the letters of an Islamic combatant and a nine-year-old girl who has helped at the war fronts and said: The analysts of the East and the West do not understand the reason for the victory of the Islamic revolution, because they only think in material terms. Then, concerning the continuation of the revolution, he said: To continue the revolution, we must see for what reasons the Iranian nation made a revolution and implement them. The authorities of the Islamic Republic must implement Islamic values, Islamic injunctions and Islamic justice in the society, and they must also be a model for the nation.

In conclusion, he said: The way to continue the revolution is to implement true Islamic injunctions, authentic Islamic values and justice and eliminate discrimination. Islam has presented us to the world and we must not, God forbid, be ungrateful, because it would harm the revolution.

Statements of a Tanzanian Scholar

Following the speech of Hojjat ol-Eslam Amini and the broadcast of highlights of the imam's statements made after his blessed return to the country in 1979, Sheykh al-Zahrani, a Tanzanian religious scholar, who came to Tehran to participate in the ceremonies marking the seventh anniversary [as published] of the Islamic revolution, made a brief speech and said: Muslim brothers and sisters, you know that yesterday the conference on Islamic thought ended, and that scholars from many countries participated in this conference. The discussions revolved around the sacred religious laws of Islam. Today, as we are celebrating the first day of the 10 days of Fajr, I would like to express my joy at having been invited to participate in these great ceremonies. Before I continue my statements, I would like all of you to raise your hands up to heaven towards God and thank Him for having granted us the opportunity to participate in the sixth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran.

He said: Oh God, make us guides and capable of being guided, not misguided, the enemy of Your enemies and friend of Your friends. Now, I would like to continue my speech concerning the Islamic revolution of Iran, which still continues to strive to save the oppressed of the world, a revolution which continues on its course despite the deceptive acts of the enemies of Islam. But, God has promised to help the faithful and the pious, to grant them security in the face of fear and horror, and to eliminate the enemies of Islam. We saw how He destroyed the great enemy of Iran, the shah, and this divine power will continue until all the Satanic enemies are destroyed. What keeps us steadfast and stable is sincerity, strong faith and resorting to the sacred Islamic laws. As long as we rely on God, He will also help us to attain our goal. I do not want to repeat how the Islamic revolution of Iran penetrates the hearts of the people of the world and how it neutralizes the deceptions and secret and open conspiracies of the enemies of Islam. For instance, when the criminal United States launched a military attack on Iran to rescue its agents and spies, we saw how God destroyed their conspiracy and exposed them to the world. What can this be? Is Iran stronger than the United States? My answer is, yes, it is stronger than the United States and stronger even than all the governments in the world, because the people of Iran have faith in the phrases of, God is great, and, There is no God but God. The beloved imam, may God grant him a long life, repeated these phrases for 15 years in exile until he proudly returned to his

homeland. The United States and some of the Western governments promised to keep the shah in power in Iran, but he was forced to flee from Iran, because the phrases, God is great and There is no God but God, were stronger than those empty promises. At a loss and wandering, the shah went from one country to another. Even his Satanic friends abandoned him and we actually witnessed the true promises of God.

Brothers and sisters, we are not satisfied with what we have gained. We are obligated to continue this revolution. The conference on Islamic thought ended with the issuance of a 10-point resolution. This resolution can be a basis for ties between Muslims. We can exchange views with other scholars and we can strengthen this unity everywhere in the world. Also, we must cleanse ourselves of pollution and, all together, with sincerity of intention, we must step toward Islam and unity in order to establish Islamic government in the world, because there is a direct relationship between pain and society. These two cannot succeed without one another [as published]. Muslims must reform themselves in order for their society to be reformed. Among the people of the world, there are some who watch the realities and events, such as the presence of the imam, who has a vast vision in regards to the world. Therefore, each one of us must follow the imam's path. We, the people of Tanzania, have been and are closely watching the great changes in Iran. Our wish is to establish the Islamic revolution and the government of God in the world. In conclusion, I ask Almighty God to help the Muslims of the world to achieve the sacred divine goals.

First Prayer Sermon of Tehran

Then, Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the Friday imam of Tehran, delivered the prayer sermons. In his first prayer sermon, the Friday imam of Tehran continued the discussion of the duties of the Islamic government and said: In the previous sermons, I said that one of the duties of the Islamic government is to ensure that knowledge and cultural growth prevail in the society, and overall planning for the blossoming of all scientific talents. He pointed out four necessities on the part of the Islamic government to spread knowledge and science in the society and said: Spreading knowledge and science is vital to self-sufficiency. If the Islamic government wants to create independence for Muslims, it has no choice but to seriously pursue knowledge and cultural blossoming in the society. Self-sufficiency is based on self-sufficient manpower. Even fertile water and land and rich mines are of no use alone. All of these can only be useful if there is competent manpower in the society. That is why the colonialist hands in the Third World tried to prevent the development of knowledge in these societies.

He added: Planning in regards to knowledge in the Third World is often wrong and contrary to their needs. And whenever thinking minds have been found, they have been bought, and now many of the scholars of the Third World are at the disposal of the domineering countries in the world, working for them.

Therefore, the main root of the self-sufficiency of a nation rests in its manpower, in training the necessary specialists. The Friday imam of Tehran continued: The second issue is the preservation of the national character of a society. If knowledge does not grow in a society, that nation cannot preserve its national identity. Europe, which had the key to the new sciences at its disposal, made the maximum use of the tool. If a nation has awareness and knowledge and if literacy is prevalent in that society, that nation will not lose its national character and identity.

The third point is that if a nation has culture and knowledge, foreign cultures cannot influence it easily. Colonialism had to work for a long time to dominate the countries which had deep cultural roots. Colonialism cannot easily dominate a society which has scholars, scientists and inventors. The fourth issue is that in a society which is literate and knowledgeable and which enjoys public participation, when literacy and knowledge are universal in a society, the possibility for participation in struggles and political position is very high.

In concluding the first sermon, the Friday imam of Tehran mentioned several reported traditions from Islamic sources concerning the education of the people by Islamic governments and said: Imam 'Ali said that one of the greatest rights the people can expect from an Islamic government is education, so that they will not remain ignorant.

His holiness Mohammad said to a person whom he was sending to Yemen: Spread teachers among the people. Also, in another report, his holiness 'Ali said: The imam of the Muslims, the Islamic ruler and the government are responsible for teaching the boundaries of Islam and the faith to the people. Of course, the Commander of the Faithful also had the teaching of sciences in mind. There are many other reported traditions which stress that Islamic societies must become literate, and that knowledge and science must be spread in those societies.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i then delivered the second Friday prayer sermon and said:

Today is one of the unforgettable days in our history. From 1-11 February and the days following, the fate of a nation was written. The history of Islam changed its course. A turning point was created in the lives of the Muslim nations, which make

up one-quarter of the world population, which we think and hope will be a turning point in the history of the world, not only the history of the Muslim nation. Concerning these 10 blessed days, which are called the 10 days of Fajr, there is much to say. In truth, a history is contained in these 10 days. The events during these 10 days and the days before and after were so rapid that no eye, heart, memory or mind had or has the power to understand and record all of them. In those days, we were at the center of events and decision-making. The problems were brought there and resolved. All the problems of the country would, to some extent, end there. Later on, when we would become familiar with various events, we would realize that we only saw a small part of a great ocean of events. I wish the enthusiastic trustworthy writers with sincere, truthful hearts and divine motives would sit and write down on paper these unforgettable pages with the golden lines of their emotions and record them for posterity.

Unfortunately, I mentioned before from this podium that treacherous hands are engaged in writing lies, both in our own country and abroad. They are creating false events on paper. They most cruelly hide certain facts. The people struggled, strove and gave their lives. How many unknown and unidentified martyrs fell on those days with no one but their families to know about them? How much effort was made? How much guarding was done? How much thinking was done? How much work was done? This was all done during these days without anyone knowing about it. Now, a group of unfair people, unaware of the grand resurrection which had taken place in the hearts of these people in those days and the events that they created, sit down and write whatever they imagine, wittingly or unwittingly. Of course, we say that this is unfair. But, since the events must be truthfully passed from one generation to the next, I say it is treason. Those who are capable should sit down and write. After all, these are great days.

Continuing his sermon, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i referred to the coming days of Fatemeh and said: In the coming week, one of our historical events is the death of the beloved daughter of the revered Prophet, her holiness Zahra. The status of her holiness Zahra for us Muslims today is higher than that of one of the distinguished members of the family of the Prophet. She is doubly distinguished because this revered, beloved lady is a model for Iranian woman, who--in spite of all the misteachings and all the policies through which they wanted to roll women in a moral cesspool--want to follow her holiness Zahra. In other words, she wants to be a religious, pure, clean, brave, struggling and loyal homemaker and at the same time to invest in all the difficult arenas of life. Such a beloved and revered person was Fatemeh Zahra.

Then, referring to verses from the Koran in which Muslims are instructed not to refer to the Prophet of God in the same way that they refer to each other and to call him by particular titles, the Friday imam of Tehran said: In those days, the Prophet entered the home of Fatemeh Zahra. Fatemeh Zahra said: Greetings to you, oh Prophet of God. The Prophet embarrassed his daughter by kissing her between the eyes, and, as it is reported, he said: My daughter, you should not call me Prophet of God, call me pappa. This is more appealing to me. This is how much the Prophet loved Fatemeh Zahra. When the Prophet went on trips or to the battlefield, the last person to whom the Prophet said farewell was her holiness Zahra, and when he returned, she was the first person he visited. This was a revered daughter, a model of knowledge, piety, cleanliness, homemaking, holy struggle and martyrdom, who possessed all the characteristics of an exalted and infallible person. We are proud to follow her holiness. The day of 4 or 5 February is the anniversary of her death. In regards to observing the mourning days of her holiness Fatemeh Zahra, the Friday imam of Tehran gave certain instructions and continued: In the week that passed, we were actively present on the political scene in the world. First, the trilateral meeting of the foreign ministers of Iran, Syria and Libya took place in Tehran, which was a very meaningful and symbolic act against the efforts to strengthen Camp David in the Islamic world. For some time, the United States has been trying to create the Egypt, Jordan and Baghdad axis. It was a great victory for the United States to unite other allies of Camp David, whether those who had stated and confessed it or those who had not, especially the regime of Baghdad, which claimed to be anti-American, anti-Israel and progressive. But they showed that they are in the circle and among the first countries on which the United States has set its hopes. Recently, they received U.S. loans, one after another. The U.S. functionary puppet governments, such as Egypt and Jordan, helped it immediately and openly positioned themselves next to the regime of Iraq, which created an axis, the axis of Egypt, Jordan and Baghdad, to protect the U.S. interests in the region in remain loyal to Camp David. We declared that we will not sit by calmly in the face of such a mischievous act and, hence, we created the axis of the progressive Muslim countries in the region.

Of course, in this meeting, the three countries agreed and decided to pursue all the ways to confront Israel. Other countries as well will cooperate with them and their forces will be utilized.

Of course, we welcome progressive Arab countries, such as Algeria and South Yemen, and any progressive, anti-American and independence-seeking Islamic country that wants to cooperate with us in order to strike a blow against U.S. interests in the region. We are prepared to challenge more powerfully and

decisively the interests of the United States in the region, especially those related to the usurping government of Israel. Another political move in the past week was the visit of our prime minister to the Latin American countries. We declared from the beginning of the revolution that wherever there is an oppressed nation, we feel sympathetic. What is the reason for our feeling of close familial ties to the African countries? And what is the reason that we feel united with any nation anywhere in the world which suffers from the whip of global oppression? We are also an ally of any government which is ready to fight global oppression. The presence of the prime minister in Latin America and Nicaragua, which is under direct threat of the United States, means that the Iranian nation and government and the Islamic revolution of Iran defend the oppressed and the downtrodden anywhere in the world, even next to the United States. Whether or not the United States wishes or likes it, whether or not it engages in any action, the nations, countries and governments which are under the pressure of global oppression will assemble, raise their fists and ultimately rise up to fight. We are prepared to be the point of this arrow. Our nation is ready. We put our experience at the disposal of the struggling nations. Why do they try to force their ideas on the nation? Why do they not allow human beings in various parts of the world to reach their human potential? Why do they not allow the nations to make decisions for themselves? What right do the United States and other powers have to interfere in the problems of Lebanon, Palestine and North Africa? Why is the United States present in the Persian Gulf, like thieves and international gendarmes? What right do they have to come to this part of the world? Well, now that you want to coerce and pressure the nations, you must know that the nations will unite, they will seek out one another from various parts of the world, and they will raise their fists. You must know that the day that the self-sacrificing nations decide, the oppressive powers will not be capable of standing against them.

In another part of his speech, the Friday imam of Tehran said: I am full of emotion and have much to say about the 10 days of Fajr. I do not know what must be said about this great and indescribable event. I can only say that the 10 days of Fajr became the stabilizer of the essential goals in our history. One of the great dangers of revolution is that they forget what they have said, they forget their principles, they lose their original policies and slogans and abandon them. Today, when we look, we see that with the passage of six years since our revolution, we are steadfast in our principles. Almighty God made our steps stable and made what we said come true, and today we are acting accordingly. All the slogans and major principles and lines of our revolution, which were announced in the first days by the revered leader of the Islamic revolution, are still among our main programs.

He added: In the 10 days of Fajr, the imam displayed several characteristics which safeguarded the revolution from that time on. Rapid action: On the first day, the imam arrived and on the fourth, he appointed a government.

Decisiveness against the enemy: There was not one moment of hesitation in the mind of the imam. Respect for the people: On the day the imam arrived, the old, experienced politicians of the political scene expected him to consult with them in private, to talk with them so that they could start showing him the way. These were people whose personality and identity was not accepted by the imam at all. One of these politicians in those days told me: Why has the imam opened the door; in the morning and afternoon, people flood to the school; the imam gets up, goes to wave to them and returns to sit down. And then another group follows. The imam is busying himself with them. There is no time for the prominent people and politicians to talk to the imam. I said: This is precisely the difference between you and the imam. You do not believe in the people; the imam has based his work from the beginning on belief and faith in the people.

And Almighty God made the imam victorious with these people. Faith in the people has accomplished many miracles in the course of these six years, which, if the opportunity arises, I will explain later on.

Ties with the martyrs: Among the characteristics that the imam displayed his respect for the blood of the martyrs. Upon his arrival, he went to Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery to talk to the martyrs. He visited the graves of the martyrs. He paid his respects for the efforts they had made and the attraction and utilization of all the forces which expressed their readiness to serve the revolution and the people. If the imam had not attracted these forces, today, there would have been many in this country who would say that if it were them, they would have done such and such. They all went through the tests. The groups which were not Islamic at all, that is, those who did not attach the name of Islam to themselves, the National Front, who were nationalists, even those who participated in the transitional government, were given major responsibilities and they showed their ability.

Today, in this country there is no group that can claim that it could have done one thing or another if it had only been given the chance. The best resources of this revolution were put at the disposal of these groups in the hopes that they would be able to do something. There were forces who expressed their readiness. The imam opened the way. The imam did not even show preference for the most sincere and truthful forces in whom he had trust over such individuals. He appointed them to power. He said: Come and work; here is the field. The people worked hard

and gave their blood. They strove. If we were to make an evaluation, perhaps many facts would become clear for these people, so that they will know what valuable resources were not used where they should have been. But I do not want to discuss them. One of the characteristics of the imam was that he opened the way. He provided resources. He granted authority. He even allowed those who had not displayed much sincerity towards either the people, the strugglers or Muslims to be at the head of affairs. In another part of his speech, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i said: It became obvious that this revolution would advance decisively. It would never waste time. It would act alertly against conspiracies. The martyrs are considered the leaders of this society and the competent forces are always utilized.

These became the main lines of our revolution, the foundation of which was created during the 10 days of Fajr, that is, during the days of the imam's arrival and those immediately before and after the 10 days. God willing, if Almighty God gives me an opportunity, I will speak more on this subject. Of course, today, by the grace of God and with the passage of six years, we have attained success in various areas which must be considered the miracles of the revolution. Brothers and sisters, believe me, the miracles of the revolution for us are these successes that we have achieved in various areas. With this war that has been imposed on our nation for four years and several months by the oppressive powers, even with all that mobilization, by the grace of God, on all fields, even the battle field, we have the advantage. Thank God, the power of our combatants and the alertness of our armed forces on the battle field have been so great that the regime and army of Iraq has made vain attempts. Now, in order to raise the morale of its soldiers, Iraq has to resort to deception. In order to pretend to its supporters that they still exist, they want to finish off the revolution in one or two weeks. Now, they even claim that they will launch an attack. They proudly publicize such a false and ridiculous action as an attack through their media in order for this or that government which helped them to give them equipment and money and sell their oil for them, to believe that the Iraqi army still exists, is alive, and has not been destroyed behind their defensive trenches. By the grace of God, this nation will decide the fate of the war with the victory of Islam and Muslims.

In the conclusion of the sermon, the Friday imam of Tehran spoke to the Arabic speaking brothers and sisters about the issues of the day in our country as well as those of the region and the world.

10,000
CSO: 4640/378

IRAN

MUSAVI URGES REORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

Tehran BURS in Persian 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Statement by Musavi, prime minister, in meeting with Khorasan Province officials in Mashhad, date not specified]

[Text] In a meeting with Khorasan Province executive officials in Mashhad, Mir Hosseyn Musavi, the prime minister, summarized the history of the bureaucratic administrative system, and stressed: We must combat this system on the basis of a fundamental plan to transform the administrative system by transforming the laws and regulations governing the departments. The Majlis and the government must cooperate so that we can find an appropriate solution in this area.

According to IRNA's report, this meeting took place in the auditorium of the blessed shrine of Imam Reza, and was attended by the imam's representative and custodian of the shrine, officials of Islamic revolution organs, and Khorasan Province military and security officials. The meeting began with a recitation of verses from the Word of God and the singing of the anthem by students from the Guards Junior High School. Then Eng Kupa'i, Khorasan's governor-general, introduced those present and gave a speech in which he pointed to the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Dr Moftah and Student-Clergy Unity Day, and said:

Complete unity prevails between the two educational institutions of the theological school and the university in the holy city of Mashhad. He then described a portion of the activities and steps carried out in Khorasan Province, particularly gas-transport to deprived areas. Pointing to the rich mines existing in the extensive province, he asked the prime minister to issue the necessary instructions to lay an infrastructure.

According to the report, Mir Hosseyn Musavi then delivered a speech in which he praised the martyrs of the Islamic revolution and their effective role in advancing the revolution. Pointing to the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Dr Moftah, he said:

I think the martyrs of the executive organizations should be remembered more than those of other organizations. On the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Dr Moftah, that great clergyman, we see to what degree the system can advance, relying on the tie between the theological school and the

university, and strive towards the solidarity of these two strata. The prime minister recalled the achievements of the revolution and added:

If we can continue the war, we know that we have an economy on the basis of which we can conduct war, and that we can take our place at the head of the third world's countries because we do not have a large debt thanks to the blessed blood of the martyrs.

As he continued his speech, the prime minister enumerated the reasons for the existing administrative system's unsuitability for the Islamic, revolutionized society and described the devotional conceptualization of service in the Islamic system as one opposed to the bureaucratic systems in the world's current governments. He said: This is one of the special attributes of the Islamic revolution, and officials of the executive organizations, like those in other parts of society, feel the presence of God through divine evaluation of their daily work. There is no doubt that we must have a superior administrative system to govern the country. Through the cooperation of the Majlis and the government to create a basis transformation in the current administrative system, we hope that we can find an appropriate solution.

In conclusion the prime minister pointed to the talents for expansion in Khorasan Province and stressed the solution of each province's problems within the province itself. He stated: With the changes made in the budget, the implementation of provincial projects require the cooperation of that province's people as well as use of state monies. The people become more interested through observing the effects of their participation in the province where they reside. This is because their taxes are being spent on development matters that they can see for themselves. Therefore we must rely on incomes that will, God willing, reduce our reliance on our oil income.

9597

CSO: 4640/307

IRAN

GOVERNMENT POLICY EXPLAINED BY PRIME MINISTER

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—In continuing the imposed war without any sense of weakness or impairment, the government stands firm and considers itself stronger than at the beginning of the war. This was announced by Engineer Musavi, Prime Minister, at a meeting with ambassadors and chargés d'affaires of the Islamic Republic in Arab and African countries.

At this meeting, attended by the Foreign Minister, Engineer Musavi discussed our country's domestic situation economically, politically, and from the standpoint of security, the government's position on the imposed war and its continuance, as well as several foreign issues, with the ambassadors and chargés d'affaires.

The Prime Minister began by noting that the counterrevolution has taken a beating from the Islamic republic, and has been shattered and fragmented as a result. He said: The efforts of the counterrevolution now have no effect on our country's domestic affairs, and even though devilish behavior has not ended, no form of it will be able to endanger our country's independence.

Engineer Musavi also discussed the Islamic republic's economic and administrative situation. He said: Towards the end of the year 1360 [21 March 1981 – 20 March 1982], we were without governors-general in 12 provinces; in some provinces, the governor-general changed several times in a single year. Today, however, this is no longer the case, and we have gained valuable experience.

He added: Three years ago, most of our factories were either closed or operating at 20 percent of their nominal capacity, but now, with the blessing of the guidance of the Imam, the efforts of the people and the hard-working government and the removal of the currency crisis and management problems, our industries have emerged from their state of stagnation and are strikingly active.

Concerning the imposed war, Engineer Musavi said: Despite the plots and opposition which have been and continue to be directed against our government from foreign countries, we have been able to manage the war well. In line with the Imam's statement that we will stand firm even if the war lasts 20 years, the government proudly states that it stands firm without any sense of weakness or impairment, and it considers itself stronger than at the start of the war, because it is in a more secure position politically, economically, and from the standpoint of security. In another portion of his talk, the Prime Minister said: The cries for social justice and such things which were being raised at the beginning of the revolution are still current among the people, and they show that the Islamic revolution is still alive and still searching.

Engineer Musavi noted the increased analytical ability and efficiency among the country's officials. He said: Since in this government we are not bound by the narrow notion of nationalism, we are concerned with issues throughout the world. We need to know the economic, political, and security issues of every country. The ambassadors and chargés d'affaires cannot take an introspective view of their area of responsibility; they must transfer the intelligence they have to Iran, because in this country we have a better capability of analyzing and utilizing it than they do.

During this meeting, the Prime Minister discussed the Islamic republic's foreign policy towards Muslim countries. He said:

None of our main foreign policy lines are hidden from the people. The principle of neither East nor West still prevails in our foreign policy, and the people and the officials try to put it into practice with regard to economic, political, cultural, and even intellectual and philosophical issues. He added: Everything that is done in the Foreign Ministry takes the judgement of the people into account, because for the Foreign Ministry this judgement is to be reckoned with and respected.

Musavi said: At the beginning of the revolution we imagined the spread of the revolution; we thought it would spread through the area in a chain reaction within a year. Of course, such a view is not far from reality in the long run, but it appears that we were mistaken in our initial assessments with regard to the rapid spread of the revolution.

On the other hand, when we look at the element of time, the patience of history, and the events of the past seven years such as Israel's humiliating withdrawal from southern Lebanon, we realize that our analysis of the export of the revolution in the area was not so far from reality, except that we did not initially consider the element of time in the export of the revolution.

He added: With regard to the Muslim, Arab, and African countries, we must not look at the situation we have now, but we must view the situation realistically while maintaining the principles of the revolution. One of these principles is the mission which Islam has given us to carry out throughout the world, thus liberating us from the narrow prison of nationalism. Preserving the principle of neither East nor West, we must move over the long term towards the hopes and aims which were advanced on 22 Bahman 1357 [11 Feb 1978].

The Prime Minister then referred to the image of the revolution and the government of the Islamic republic in the world. He said: What is the image we want to present to the world? Do we want to have an angry and warlike image, or a peace-seeking image? I believe that we must act in such a way that countries perceive that we strongly believe and stand by our principles, and that these principles do not include belligerence and anger. On the other hand, we must rock the boat in the world today. Therefore, the image we must present to the outside world is that our government stands by and believes in its principles, its words, and its agreements, and that the turns of events, crises, and plots of the world cannot influence it. Musavi said: In this way, even with our great enemies throughout the world and those who threaten us such as the European countries and our northern neighbors, we can speak clearly, tell them our position, and even have a logical relationship. We can establish such relations when we have proven that we believe in our principles and that there is no instability in our policies. Fortunately, so far we have in this way been able to present such an image to the outside world. Musavi added: Until the Islamic Republic dismantled the Tudeh Party, the Muslim world and the Eastern and Western blocs viewed our position of neither East nor West with skepticism. They could see that the Tudeh Party dictates policy to the Islamic republic and appoints one of its ministers. Naturally, despite this the Eastern bloc was uncertain about our position and on the other hand, with the deviationist tendencies in some groups, the West was nourishing its own hopes.

IRAN

PALESTINIAN ISSUE SAID BINDING COUNTRY'S FATE WITH ARAB STATES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] Political Service—Yesterday the Foreign Minister spoke at a seminar for ambassadors and chargés d'affaires of the Islamic republic in Arab and African countries. He said: One of the most important issues binding our fate to that of Arab and African countries is the Palestine issue. It is natural that we are closer to countries who make greater efforts to achieve Palestinian aspirations and liberating Muslims from the dominance of the enemies of Islam.

He said: Today, more than at any other time, a serious common struggle with Israel and Zionism is necessary to liberate Palestine and release the Muslims from the hands of plunderers. For this reason, we must seek to find more points of commonality with Arab and African countries and to increase our cooperation and relations with them.

Dr Velayati then discussed the characteristics of the African people. He said: The people of the black continent are a simple and sincere people. The common pains of the third world and their pure hearts have led to astonishing progress for Islam in this continent. Unfortunately, however, the imperialists have done terrifying damage to the people of Africa, especially culturally and economically, and great efforts must be made to remove the evil effects of this damage.

In this regard, he referred to the necessity of expanding relations, especially economically and culturally, with African countries. He said: We must do more work on the economic and cultural aspects of this problem. We must purchase some of the things our country needs from this continent, even if this causes trouble and difficulty for us.

According to our correspondent, the Foreign Ministry Public Relations Office has announced that Ahmad 'Azizi, Supervisor of the Majlis Foreign Policy Commission, also spoke at the seminar. Referring to the victories of the Muslim nation of Lebanon in expelling Zionist forces from southern Lebanon, and congratulating them for these victories, he said: This is a great position and achievement for the Muslim nation of Lebanon. It is possible to analyze the factors and motivations of the Muslim victories in Lebanon, and for subjugated Muslims in other Islamic countries to adopt this method for themselves. He then discussed the concern of the Muslim and Arab countries and the Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy for the intricacies of world imperialism. Concerning the plots of American imperialism and its allies to save the Iraqi regime from certain destruction, he said: The primary focus of the policies and plans of the superpowers is to avert Iraq's defeat in the area. We must therefore regard ourselves always as involved in a serious struggle with world imperialism, and do our planning on this basis, and the final victory will be easy with the help of piety and revolutionary patience.

9310

CSO: 4640/433

IRAN

ANSWERS TO 32 POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIAL, FINANCIAL QUERIES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 9 Feb 85 pp 21, 25, 2

[Interview with Speaker of the Majlis Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani by domestic and foreign reporters; date and place not specified]

[Text] On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the victory of the magnificent Islamic revolution, in a press conference, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the representative of the imam in the Supreme Council for Defense and speaker of the Majlis, responded to various questions of domestic and foreign reporters concerning the imposed war, Iran's conditions to end the war, and domestic economic, social and political issues. The detailed text of the questions of the reporters and the answers of the speaker of the Majlis are as follows:

Question, YOMIURI newspaper and KYODO of Japan: When will the appropriate time be for the upcoming large attack that the officials of the Islamic Republic have referred to frequently, and also, how do you see the future of the war?

Answer: In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. It is not right for me to tell you the time of the attack.

That is, we are prepared for an invasion under whatever conditions we deem it to be necessary, and we have maintained this position since we stated it. The military aspects of the war are not very important to us at present, because there was a stage when the enemy was on our soil and we would attack in any form, at any opportunity and at any cost to expel or destroy the enemy. Now, in most areas, we are either on our borders or a little into Iraqi soil, and in some places, like Naftshahr, Iraq is on our soil. And there is a reason for us not having imposed pressure there. Our readiness remains as before. The political aspect of the war is now important to us. We do not seek to destroy our own forces and the people of Iraq. We will attack when the circumstances are right to ensure that afterwards there will be no need to continue this war much longer and the war will

end. Therefore, we are ready as before, but the time depends on the political conditions in the region.

Syrian Mediation in the War is a Rumor

Question, TOKYO SHIMBUN and NIHON KEIZAI from Japan:
Recently, a Kuwaiti newspaper wrote that president Hafiz al-Assad, the president of Syria, will soon visit the Islamic Republic of Iran. When is the time of this visit and could he have a mediating role in the war?

Answer: It has been some time now since our president has invited Mr Hafiz al-Assad to come to our country; he will come when he thinks it is best. The recent rumor that he will come to Iran in connection with mediation in the war, in my opinion, is unlikely, because Syria's position in regards to the war is the same as ours. I do not think that the Syrians wish to mediate on a front to which they belong. Although they are not fighting Iraq, they accept our position fully and from our point of view, it would be meaningless for Mr Hafiz al-Assad to be a mediator in the war.

Iraq Uproar over Two Desperate Actions

Question, ETTELA'AT: Foreign radio broadcasts have engaged in vast propaganda that Iraq has been successful in its recent attacks. What is your view in this connection?

Answer: These radio broadcasts pursue the goals of the regime of Iraq. Because of their internal situations, our celebrations of the 10 days of Fajr, the regional issues that exist now and their need to beg and extort from the Persian Gulf countries, the Iraqis need to make some noise. Hence, they falsely raised some issues and engaged in two desperate actions in the southern and middle fronts. In both cases, after suffering many casualties, they retreated. Thus far, we have had no other program but to defend ourselves. And since we did not intend to launch a retaliatory strike under the present conditions, we did not inflict a heavy blow on them and only defended ourselves. They began an uproar and the newspapers, mostly Western ones, became their loudspeakers. But this uproar, as they realized themselves, was too hollow, because our war propaganda headquarters proposed that the Iraqis take foreign reporters to visit the locations that they claimed to have taken. I have heard that they displayed a few of the hypocrites who are in Iraq as prisoners to their propaganda media.

Mediators Must First Accept that the Ba'thist Party is an Aggressor

Question, Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Considering that recently in the international organizations and conferences as well as various countries, certain movements have begun to establish peace between Iran and Iraq, could you please tell us how the Islamic Republic of Iran is dealing with this issue? In the same connection, KYODO NEWS AGENCY of Japan asked: Is it true that Syria, France, Saudi Arabia and Algeria have prepared a new plan to stop the imposed war?

Answer: Mediation movements in the war are nothing new for the Islamic Republic of Iran. From the very first days, when it became obvious that Iraq was not victorious in the war and the signs of Iraq's defeat became clear, these movements began. Of course, in the past month, the world media has witnessed an escalation of these movements. There have been talks and visits in this connection. But as to Syria being involved in this issue, I do not think it to be correct, because we know the position of Syria. However, it is possible that others are thinking about a new plan. But such a plan has not been announced to us and we do not know the nature of it. As far as we ourselves are concerned, the issue is the same as we have frequently stated. Any plan which is based on the survival of the Ba'thist Party in Iraq would not be considered by us and we are not prepared to talk on the basis of such a plan. Anyone who wants to talk to us about the war must first accept that the Ba'th Party is an aggressor. The verdict concerning aggressors is clear in terms of international regulations, and so is the verdict in regards to someone who has instigated the war, with so many casualties. Once Iraq has been accepted as the aggressor, then it will be meaningful for us to negotiate and we can talk about the punishment of the aggressor. However, no one has offered a plan recently, and we are not informed of the nature of their views.

Shelling of Iraqi Cities

Question, the Japanese newspaper KEIZAI: Recently, Iraq has been engaged in shelling Iranian residential areas once again. Will Iran continue to display patience, and will the opinion of the United Nations or the experts suffice? Please tell us your view.

Answer: No, we will not be patient. Previously, as well, when the Iraqis hit our cities, we would give them an ultimatum and when they made a lot of noise, we told them that we would shell Basra. Now, I announce that if Iraq wants to continue these acts and shell our villages and cities, as it has recently hit Hoveyzeh and some of the villages, we have told our forces on the

southern and middle fronts to be ready to shell Iraqi cities, and it is possible that we will shell Basra as a warning.

Currency Belongs to the Government, Which Decides about Foreign Trade

Question, the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI: Why, after the passage of six years since the Islamic revolution of Iran, have issues such as land, foreign trade and the general economic model of the Islamic Republic not been defined and devised clearly? Should these problems be resolved through the Majlis or by the directives of high religious authorities?

Answer: The economic model of the Islamic Republic has been clarified in the Constitution, which in general terms has no ambiguity problems. In the implementation and understanding of the Constitution, there are sometimes differences of opinion between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians and sometimes affairs are delayed. Since the source of interpretations of the Constitution is the Council of Guardians, the views of that Council generally prevail. In foreign trade, we have no problems at all. The law is now in the Majlis and due to the fact that currency inside the country belongs to the government and a large part of our currency is obtained from the sale of oil and a very small amount from the exports of the private sector, matters of foreign trade can be passed in the Majlis without any particular problems and at the disposal of the government. If the government decides, it imports goods from abroad or confers it on the private sector. Even if no law passes through the Majlis, it is even clear to the Council of Guardians that the government makes decisions about what belongs to the government, with the approval of the Majlis.

A bill on the agricultural lands was prepared in the previous term of the Majlis and faced some problems. Recently, it has been studied in a special committee and will soon be discussed in the open session of the Majlis with consideration for the opinion of the Council of Guardians.

Victory of the Policy of Neither East Nor West

Question, KEYHAN: The policy of neither East nor West of the Islamic Republic of Iran has become a new standard in world political balances. Please tell us, considering the global polarizations and block divisions, to what extent have we been able to affect these balances actively, and, essentially, has the foreign policy of our country, as a strong arm of the Islamic revolution, been able to bring the message of the revolution to the people of the world?

Answer: In regards to what extent we have been able to succeed, my judgment is not very important. In regards to success, others should speak. However, so far, it has been thought in the world that no revolution could last without relying on one of the world powers. For instance, if a revolution is anti-Western and anti-American, the Americans impose so much pressure to cripple the revolution, unless there is a power such as the Soviets before them. On the other hand, if it is against the Soviet Union, it must be supported by the United States. What the Islamic revolution did was to prove that it is possible for a revolution to be in conflict with both blocs, and that it can, without accepting their principles, living methods, culture and ideology, stand on its own feet. The Islamic Republic of Iran has proven this. Our country has had practical problems from the East and mostly from the West. Our enemy, Iraq, was supported by both powers and the minigroups opposing the Islamic Republic have also been supported mostly by the West, and sometimes by the East. The Islamic Republic of Iran proved that it is possible to stand on one's own feet and become victorious without the support of the superpowers. Inspired by our action, the second incident occurred in Lebanon. Lebanon is the sign of Iran's success outside its borders. In Lebanon, you see that the Lebanese nation puts up resistance and is supported neither by the East or the West. They rely on themselves and some of the Muslims. We consider this a successful experience. In regards the extent much our foreign policy has been the arm for the policy of neither East nor West abroad, I must say that early in the revolution our country did not have a foreign ministry and most of the cadres were the previous ones. And the ministers that we had were not very interested in this issue. Since three years ago, our foreign ministry has become well formed and good actions have been carried out. We consider this course to be one towards victory.

Question, the Japanese newspaper KEIZAI and N.H.K television of Japan: Concerning the tax bill, it is said that some of the clerical authorities in the country oppose the bill. Who are these persons and what is the imam's opinion in this regard?

Answer: Now, no one opposes the bill any longer. At the time when this bill was discussed, some of the clerics accepted taxation as a secondary Islamic ruling and not a primary one. A secondary ruling is one that must not be carried out under normal circumstances and only in abnormal situations, as an emergency measure, must it be implemented. However, most clerics and Islamicists did not accept this view and considered it a primary ruling. It was also ratified in the Majlis with a strong majority vote (more than two-thirds of the votes) in the first round of discussions. When the differences of opinion reached the media, the imam interfered and gave his opinion that taxation is a primary Islamic ruling. When the imam's opinion is heard by

other clerics, there is no longer any objection and everyone accepts it. Of course, we will have expert discussions on this issue, because everyone agrees that taxes must be fair and the property owners must pay taxes proportionate to their income and the expenditures which they impose on the government. We all agree on this fairness.

The imam also emphasized that it must be fair. Now, the discussion concerns what taxes must be collected under what circumstances so that no one is wronged and the people can financially participate in the management of the country. This is a normal situation in regards to every bill which comes to the Majlis to be discussed. Also, the recent tax bill has about 300 articles, which makes up a small book, and it will take some time to be examined in a committee.

At present, the experts are working on it in order to make it more fair and then it will be discussed in the second round of discussions.

Joint Sessions of the Cabinet, the Majlis and the Heads of the Three Branches

Question, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: Please explain the goal and the purpose of the joint sessions of the Cabinet and the Majlis as well as those of the heads of the three branches and the Cabinet in the past two weeks. Also, why have there not been such sessions before?

Answer: The meetings are not exceptional and it is not that we are having sessions out of any extraordinary situation. In practice, we have determined that joint sessions help in the progress of the affairs a great deal. For instance, in the session that the heads of the Majlis committees had with the ministers, it was decided that these sessions should continue on a monthly basis. Opinions are expressed face to face and the mutual expectations of the government and the government of the people are discussed in the joint sessions. This facilitates cooperation. The presence of the heads of the three branches of the Cabinet was due to the current issues of the country. We wanted to discuss some of the important issues about which we had not yet decided and it was a very useful session. In any case, we decided from now on to discuss the very important current issues of the country in joint sessions if possible in order to expedite progress in the country.

Presence of Foreign Guests

Question, Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic: To what extent can the presence of foreign guests in the conference on Islamic thought and the ceremonies honoring the 10 days of Fajr

be effective in exporting the revolution, and to what extent can these individuals play a role in presenting the Islamic revolution?

Question, ETTELA'AT: What is your interpretation of the imam's recent statement on meeting with foreign guests? He had said: "You must be aggressive. Do not sit by until the enemies attack you." Particularly in the military dimension of this decree, what must be done?

Answer: Undoubtedly, trips, seminars and discussions are very useful to clarify our statements and positions. At present, we wish to invite the Islamic intellectuals and thinkers--and it has recently been decided that the Christian church personalities should be invited--to come to Iran in order to hold discussions and consultations. Another point is that they also express interest in coming to our country. On such occasions as the 10 days of Fajr, we invite them collectively to come and become acquainted with the Iranian personalities, to become informed of what goes on in Iran, to offer us advice, and if they become familiar with some good issues, to take them as souvenirs to the people of their countries and cities. They are further useful in that we become a means for the personalities and representatives of the Islamic combative movements to gather, consult with each other and exchange views. Another thing is that these visits are not very ceremonial.

This year, we discussed "Islamic government" in the conference on Islamic thought. We hope that in the future, Iran will be able to be a center for the exchange of ideas on a world level as well as a center for aiding Islamic combative movements. These invitations propagate such issues.

Concerning the statements of the imam, that is a different issue. Because those who come are people of thought, struggle, opinions and ideas, the imam gave general advice that we must not give up in the face of the pressures imposed by the enemies and we must take an aggressive posture. The spirit of the imam's statement was that we must act as if the domineering world today is indebted to us and we must struggle in this way to retrieve the rights of the deprived, the oppressed and the people under domination. We must not wait for truth to become victorious on its own. He asked the guests who were representatives of the combative movements to continue their struggles.

Propaganda War and World Public Opinion

Question, Australian television: What is the reason why the people in the Western countries do not think well of Iran?

Answer: I know that this is so. Now, I do not know to what extent the people think this way; at least many of the governments do not like us, especially those which have been harmed by us. For instance, the U.S. gang and its satellites are against us, because we drove out the United States, which used to consider our country a vital center and its second home. Hence, it is natural for the United States and its allies to be our enemy.

On the other hand, if the Islamic world rises up, it will be dangerous both for Marxism and capitalism as well as the reactionary governments of the region. Therefore, they do not want us to be the pioneers of an Islamic movement and become our enemy. Their propaganda resources are great and they have used all their propaganda resources against us. Their information sources are provided through a group of escapees--all the monarchists and capitalists who have escaped and against whom the revolution was made, and the terrorists who committed so much terrorism in Iran, who when they were suppressed escaped. They continuously feed lies and untruths to the Western media and they publish them for their people and deceive public opinion. Therefore, the roots of this picture are in our being right, and that is why we are fighting the dominators. The dominators create public opinion and that is why this situation has occurred. Meanwhile, many people know the truth and the Islamic Republic has placed itself in the hearts of the oppressed nations. For this reason, they are afraid and as long as we are Islamic revolutions and they are oppressive and domineering, this propaganda war will continue.

Successes of the Revolution

Question, KEYHAN: To what extent have we been successful in building a model conforming to Islamic standards and goals in order to be able to present it to the world as one of the ways to export the revolution?

Answer: In political issues, we have succeeded to show the authentic Islamic and popular way as the policy of neither East nor West, support for the oppressed and the downtrodden and fighting the oppressors. We have implemented Islamic culture in our country to a great extent. Despite the long way we have to go, we have implemented the issue of self-sufficiency and have shown that we stand on our own feet to fight and confront the enemies. Abroad, too, we have shown the way of Islam by supporting such groups as the people of Afghanistan, Lebanon and Sahara. We have also been very successful in supporting the downtrodden people in our own country; we have mobilized the resources of the country in support of the downtrodden and the villages. All of this indicates the Islamization of the regime. Of course, we are very far from total Islam, and while there is

the war, our successes in construction and the welfare of the country have been slow. We hope that in the future this issue will be realized increasingly.

Question, Japanese newspaper YOMIURI: Considering your explanations and those of other officials concerning various natural tendencies which have been shaped generally into two forms, nationalizing and not nationalizing, please tell us whether these differences are only apparent in general issues or on all levels and positions such as the implementary levels as well and whether the future of these differences will be towards separate organizations?

The Differences Are Declining Day by Day

Answer: We do not view this issue as critical. Of course, differences exist and are declining day by day, because in practice, the two sides are getting closer to the realities. Those who supported nationalization are gradually realizing that the private sector can be the solution in many cases. Also, those who emphasized the private sector realize that, in practice, in places where the private sector has a monopoly, profiteering, monopolization, hoarding and conspiratorial acts, both sides have softened their positions. Of course, this is always followed by political conflicts and it would even reach the level of generalities. However, I do not anticipate that this will result in a separate organization, but there is a possibility, although I believe that we are moving towards a reduction in differences. On the whole, we consider such exchanges of ideas and opinions beneficial, especially when we are not in a war situation, because they can result in more action and a crystalization of the realities.

Decline in Oil Prices and Their Effect on the Region

Question, IRNA: Considering the decline in OPEC oil prices and the Arab reactionaries' consent, how do you evaluate the effects of the decline in the oil prices on the political, military and economic issues of the region?

Answer: The decline in the oil prices to any extent has a negative effect on the region. We believe that at least at the level of the growth of inflation, the price of oil must also increase along with that of other goods. Unfortunately, for one or two years, the trend has been the reverse. In other words, the more inflation increases, the more the oil consumers who are strong industrial countries want to compensate for their inflation by purchasing inexpensive oil and taking advantage of the pockets of oppressed nations. This is to our detriment, and our enemies and the dominators benefit by it. Hence, the decline in the oil prices has a negative effect on the region. Had we

not put up resistance, the decline in oil prices could have been even more dangerous.

Fortunately, with the good positions that the Islamic Republic assumed, the relative support of Algeria and Libya and the decisiveness of our oil minister and the Iranian delegation in the OPEC conference, the crisis was prevented. But this decline in the dollar price of light oil and on the whole, the decline in the price of all the oil in the region at an approximate rate of \$0.50 has a negative effect. This negative effect can in the long run turn into a positive one. In other words, the people of the region, realizing that their governments act contrary to their interests and that the plunderers are not content at any rate, may make a revolutionary decision and something similar to what occurred after the victory of the Islamic revolution may compensate for such damages with a leap in the oil prices at a particular juncture. Of course, under such circumstances, we must be concerned about the oppressed nations who do not have the money to purchase oil. Hence, we must take from the wealthy and the plunderers in the world, into the pockets of whose companies go most of the oil money.

Presence of People on the Scene

Question, Tunisian newspaper AL-RA'Y. It has been observed that the revolution is losing its color day by day. The cooling off of revolutionary zeal, lack of political parties, existing conflicts in the society, and lack of participation of students in political activities may support this view. What is your opinion in this connection?

Answer: This is how you see it; we do not see it that way. In the early years of the revolution, there was much of the political conflict that you mention and there were conflicts in every organization. But now, there is no such thing. In regards to the revolutionary spirit, we consider the people to be the same as the first days of the revolution. A group, such as the monarchists and the immoral people, who wanted uncontrolled liberties and sex, opposed the revolution from the very beginning and still does.

Some of them have been reformed. The conflicts have declined considerably. In regards to the presence of the people on the scene, it must be noted that in political issues, when there is not a heated issue, people do not just come to the street and shout for nothing. I hope we will not see such heated issues in our country. But if one day such a heated issue appears, you will hear in Tunis that the people are on the streets wholeheartedly and in support of the revolution. We heard similar statements two or three years ago from some of the foreign reporters. When the Bani-Sadr conspiracy occurred, it

became obvious how people are loyal to the revolution and how revolutionary they are. Now, God willing, if you are with our people in the 11 February demonstrations, you shall see the vast presence of the people on the scene and will realize what our people are like.

Relations Between Iran and the Soviet Union

Question, Japanese newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN : How are relations between Iran and the Soviet Union? It is felt that these relations are improving. Can we hope that your treatment of the Tudeh Party members will improve in order to help improve relations with the Soviet Union?

Answer: First of all, these two issues are not related. Our relations with the Soviets have improved somewhat. Of course, we do not wish to have many differences and be in conflict with the Soviets. They are our neighbors and we have many trade resources. Our cooperation can eliminate the problems. There have been problems which are being resolved. One problem was the issue of natural gas, which the Russians used to take very cheaply, unjustly and for relatively nothing during the previous regime. At present, we have stopped its export to the Soviet Union until they purchase it at the actual price. But they have not yet agreed to the actual price of natural gas. At present, we are using our natural gas ourselves. Now is no longer the time of the shah, that we may sell our natural gas cheaply. We are now engaged in installing gas pipelines in the villages, small towns and almost the whole country. We intend to replace oil with gas. Of course, this issue is not important in our relations with the Soviets. On the other hand, up to now our cities and forces were generally attacked in the imposed war with Soviet arms. We have received reports that this problem (giving arms to Iraq) has reduced somewhat. Our objection to the Soviet Union in regards to Afghanistan still remains. The Russians must not remain in Afghanistan; they must leave. The Afghan nation must be free. As long as there is the issue of Afghanistan, our relations with the Soviets will not be very close.

This issue remains a point of contention, but we are managing our affairs somewhat to have more cooperation, especially in commercial and industrial areas.

Concerning the Tudeh Party, we have said from the beginning that this is an internal issue for our country. Had they not committed treason, they could have been active. But, once they committed treason, thinking of engaging in a coup d'etat and intending to commit a great treason, they were suppressed. They are now a handful of treacherous elements. Therefore, we cannot compromise with them by any means. We have told the Russians too

that this issue does not concern them and they have accepted that this problem must not interfere in our relations.

The Party is Popular in the Society

Question, the Tunisian newspaper AL-MAGHREB:

What is the reason for the inability of the Islamic Republican Party to absorb all Islamic combatants and other groups?

Answer: First of all, the Islamic Republican Party has absorbed a great deal. A great part of the revolutionary forces in the country are cooperating with the Islamic Republican Party. Naturally, not everyone can accept the ideas and positions of one party. If such were the case, it would no longer be a "party," it would be "everybody." At present, many forces of our people are with the party. Of course, since the officials of the party are mostly engaged in the executive affairs of the country, they have no extra time for party activities.

For instance, I am a member of the central council of the Party and have so much to do. Mr Khamene'i is the secretary general of the Party and has so many responsibilities. We have little opportunity for party activities. If we become more active, the appearance of the presence of the Party in the society became stronger. However, the Party is popular in the society.

Activities of the Hojjatiyyeh Society

Question, Japanese newspaper KYODO: Is it true that in spite of the imam's decree, the Hojjatiyyeh Society is active? If this is true, are the members of this group punished?

Answer: At present, they are not officially active as the Hojjatiyyeh Society. Of course, their members may want to express their opinions, but these gentlemen are not guilty of anything worthy of punishment. Even before the victory of the Islamic revolution, they did not agree with struggle. They thought that in the environment of the Pahlavi regime, with the small amount of resources at the disposal of Muslims in the mosques, cemeteries and theological schools, we must be content and speak about worshipping and moral issues.

After the victory of the revolution, those who did not support the revolution in the past and whose work was not in line with the combative leader had difficulty in continuing their work in an organized form. After the imam expressed his discontent, since these people were Muslims, they announced that they had stopped their activities, but did not explicitly announce their dissolution. However, they did say that they had stopped all their activities; we do not know anything about their

organizational activities and political actions. Essentially, their most important goal during the time of the shah was to fight the Baha'is. Since the Americans were in charge and Baha'ism is an American-Israeli movement, the Baha'is had found room for vast activities. At that time, the Hojjatiyyeh Society only fought the Baha'is and thought that it is possible to have peaceful struggle. For instance, the shah's special physician was a Baha'i and some of the ministers of the shah were also Baha'is. These people did not oppose the shah himself and thought that it was possible to fight the Baha'is. We did not agree with this opinion and believed it to be a mistake. Now, in the regime of the Islamic Republic, the Baha'is have no room. The main idea of their organization no longer exists and they have no place for their activities. Many of them are now employed in the regime of the Islamic Republic; they are teachers or work in other places and no one bothers them. In turn, they do not cause any trouble for the Islamic Republic and even serve it.

We Do Not Want to Paint the Face of Our Revolution

Question, Australian television: For what reason are the foreign reporters permitted to enter Iran and in your opinion, what are the issues that the Western governments must know concerning Iran?

Answer: Why should we not permit them. Well, we must permit them to enter, because we wish the people of the world to come and see the situation in our country. Despite the heavy propaganda which has been carried out against the Islamic Republic, the realities of our society must be shown, and the way to do it is through these reporters. Of course, some reporters are here and engage in conspiratorial acts, because, after all, they are reporters for newspapers whose owners follow their own special line and so they present the issues within the framework of that line. But meanwhile, we wish the reporters to come and what we want the world to know are the facts. We do not want to paint the face of our revolution, but we want the facts to be clear and our imperfections to be criticized so that we can correct them.

Question, the Tunisian newspaper AL-RA'Y: Bureaucracy and war are two factors which destroy revolutions and the Islamic revolution faces these two factors. What steps have been taken to counter these two factors?

Answer: Yes, the basis of what this reporter says is correct, because war is very dangerous and bureaucracy is also very bad. We have suffered a great deal of damages from the war. In absorbing so many forces, it swallows between one-quarter to one-third of our budget. But, in the mean time, we have been able to

make use of the war as a tool to build up the forces of our country and draw the attention of the society to the danger that threatens the revolution. Of course, we will enjoy its fundamental positive effects after victory. If one day, God willing, we attain victory, our victorious and self-reliant nation, which has passed through the hardship well, can be very secure and self-reliant. This will also have a good effect on the world, and we consider it likely that, God willing, such will come to pass.

Concerning bureaucracy, this is a legacy of the previous regime.

As you know, our treatment of the people of our country could not be like that of a Marxist revolution. Critical Marxist revolutions, once they achieve victory, form work camps and engage in class purges. But Islam does not allow us to do so. We must deal with people individually, separate impious persons and keep pious people. Although the bureaucratic system of our country in the past was very corrupt, many of the employees were good people and participated in the struggle with their strikes. We could not engage in a general purge, so purging was gradual. In other words, we eliminated the incompetent people to some extent and we returned those who cooperated. But still, we feel that there are incompetent individuals in our offices, although the majority are competent. This bureaucratic disharmony is partly due to the existence of incompetent people and partly due to the bureaucratic system itself. In regards to the system, we are waiting for the national employment bill to be offered to the Majlis by the government in order to establish a new system. Much work has been done on this problem and perhaps in this term of the Majlis you will see a new administrative system ratified by the Majlis. In regards to individuals, we prefer the good people in the offices to identify their bad colleagues and to dismiss the incompetent people themselves in order to have a sound system with sound individuals governing the country without any problems. But in any case, we prefer to reform individuals rather than deprive them of their living.

Taxes Will Be Put on the Shoulders of the Wealthy

Question, Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran: What role will the implementation of the tax law have in modifying wealth and implementing social justice and how can it be successful? N.H.K. television network also asked: Do you have any problems in connection with the new tax law?

Answer: In any case, anything that brings change faces resistance. The tax law will also face some small problems, but the spirit of the new tax law is that it transfers some of the taxes from the low income class to the high income classes. For instance, in the present system, employees with salaries over

40,000 rials pay taxes. In the new law, I think salaries up to 60,000-70,000 rials will be exempted from taxes. On the other hand, those who have higher incomes will pay more. In the past, wealth was not taxed. Only some incomes were taxed. In the new system, which is being studied, property such as real estate or unproductive items will be taxed annually. Of course, provisions are made not to tax, for instance, agriculture, for industry to be exempt as far as possible, and for consumer goods to be taxed rather than mediate and productive goods. These are the lines which will direct us in taxation and I believe that they will bring us closer to justice and be somewhat in line with wealth.

It should not be considered a revolution because it is still early to make judgment in regards to this bill and there will be at least one year of discussions before it is passed by the Majlis.

Relations with Persian Gulf Governments

Question, the newspaper AL-SAFIR, published in Beirut: What is the reason for the failure and cancellation of recent contracts with the (Persian) Gulf governments?

There is no such problem. We had some relations with them. There were visits and correspondences at times, which still continue. There have been neither cancellations nor failures.

Of course, a few countries on the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf engage in mischievous acts, supporting the Iraqi regime in the war. But they have recently decreased their support. However, they still engage in mischievous acts occasionally. Despite all this, we continue our contacts and we intend to assure them that they are not threatened by the Islamic Republic. We may have succeeded to some extent in conveying this issue to them and the threats which were imposed by our enemies have modified somewhat.

Studying the Situation of the Employees and Determining the Fate of the Fundamental Economic Foundation

Question, Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran and ETTELA'AT: Considering the imam's decree at the beginning of the second term of the Majlis concerning giving priority to fundamental economic issues, including agricultural lands, ownership and foreign trade, what steps have been taken by the Majlis thus far and what programs exist?

Answer: Steps which will be fruitful and which have been implemented, but have not yet achieved results. In regards to the employees, since he stressed the point, we have spoken with the Ministry of Housing a great deal on this subject. Thank God,

the Ministry of Housing has announced good programs in this regard, which I think will provide housing for employees without homes. This has been an effective step towards the implementation of the imam's decree. In regards to the lands, as I said, a special committee is working to resolve the differences of opinion that we have had with the Council of Guardians and then it will come to the open session. In regards to urban lands, we have no problems, because the law that we passed was a good one. Even though it was implemented too late and too slowly, this law will be effective if the Ministry of Housing implements the solution to the housing problem. In regards to foreign trade, I must say that there is no problem at all, and a law is not really needed. It depends on how the government wishes to make the private sector active. In our opinion, the private sector should be active in exports and it should be granted concessions. The results of the exports can be effective in regards to imports. Whenever the government finds it necessary, it will put currency at their disposal, and if this issue is resolved, ownership will not be problematic either.

Freedom of Parties

Question, the Tunisian newspaper AL-MAGHREB: It is said that soon the law concerning the freedom of political parties will be ratified. Will this law include Islamic groups or all parties, whether Islamic or non-Islamic?

Answer: When the law comes to the Majlis and is discussed, then it will be clear what the Majlis will decide. At the present time, too, parties are free in our country. In other words, if a party wants to be active in the country, there is no prohibition. If a party is not hostile and belligerent and does not want to fight the continuing regime of the revolution, it is free to be active even now. Of course, certain regulations will come to the Majlis which will determine the limitations and restrictions on parties. I think in our country, in any case, this multi-party system that has been explicitly stated in the Constitution will exist and the parties which are not in conflict with the regime will be able to be active.

Dangers from Domestic and Foreign Enemies of the Revolution

Question, KEYHAN: What elements from within and without are threats to the foundation of the Islamic Republic and what should be done to counter them?

Answer: From outside, the enemies of Islam, foreign dominators and colonialists, and from inside, their agents. There is nothing else domestically, because most of our society is Muslim and wants this regime. The very well-to-do classes might not be able to tolerate Islamic justice and may act as foreign elements

or there may be Westernized people who do not like living with Islamic culture and, of course, are incapable of struggle. These either stay and tolerate the situation or escape. Therefore, I do not see any internal danger, and from the outside, too, we put up resistance against foreign enemies and, God willing, no danger threatens us.

Working in the Guards Corps Is to Make Efforts on the Path of God

Question, Japanese KYODO NEWS AGENCY: Are the salaries and benefits of the army and Guards Corps comparable?

Answer: No, they are not comparable. Those in the army receive higher salaries than those in the Guards Corps. Since the establishment of the Guards Corps, the leaders of the Guards Corps wanted to receive salaries at a level needed by the underprivileged people, that is, a simple Guards Corps member receives the lowest pay, about 25,000 rials. If he has a wife and children and does not own a home, he will also receive an amount for these expenses. On the whole, if a Guards Corps member has a family, his monthly income is less than 50,000 rials, and if he does not, very much less than that. Our Guards Corps members live at the level of a simple worker and not a specialist. The members of the army are like other employees. In other words, an officer, a captain, a major and a colonel receive salaries appropriate to their ranks, and the salaries of the noncommissioned officers also is higher than Guards Corps members of the same rank. For instance, a large number of military personnel have government housing, but the Guards Corps has no government housing at all. On the whole, the benefits of the Guards Corps are less. The reason is that they have wished it so themselves. In other words, the Guards Corps does not intend to bring salary matters into their work and they do not look upon their work as a job. They have entered the Guards Corps on the path of God and for self-sacrifice, without looking too much towards their own comfort. Of course, we think that in providing the minimum basic needs, such as housing, we must think of something for them. But so far, no one has suggested that the Guards Corps should receive the same pay as the army personnel. As a matter of course, until the construction period of the revolution progresses, then we will think about such matters.

Preliminary Stages of Subway Have Been Completed

In response to the last question in the press conference by JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI concerning the necessity of creating a subway for Tehran--how much progress in the preliminary stages of this plan has been made, and how have the officials dealt with this issue--the speaker of the Majlis said: The preliminary stages of the subway were previously announced. Early in the revolution, the Revolution Council cancelled the agreement that existed with

France and the French stopped their work and left. We signed a new contract with domestic contractors, and about 2,700 meters of the subway tunnel has been constructed. The tools and machinery have also been procured. There is also a law and a company. The Ministry of the Interior is in charge of this production company. On the whole, these tasks had been carried out, but stopped when the war began. Recently, we thought of not burdening the national budget by adding this expense and having the people of Tehran pay for it themselves. We proposed that the City Hall collect taxes to collect money from the people of Tehran. The preparations have been made and the experts who worked there were invited. I do not precisely know when the work will actually begin again, but arrangements are being made to continue this work.

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IRAN

MONTAZERI URGES SEMINARY SCHOLARS TO GO TO FRONT FOR GUIDANCE

Tehran BURS in Persian 3 Feb 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] At the conclusion of the day's classes at the seminary, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri announced that there would be a recess for Fatimid Days.

In the same connection, he called upon the seminary students to go to the fronts for missionary, propaganda, and guidance purposes during the recess.

In this regard, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri added: It is very appropriate for committed scholars and seminary students to make use of this opportunity to go to the fronts and spread religious propaganda among their combatant brothers. He said: In one sense, Fatimid days are associated with Her Holiness Zahra, Mother of the Imams (Peace Be Upon Her), and we know how she devoted herself to propagating and establishing Islam. She is therefore especially interested in this concept, and assuredly the devoted propaganda activities of the combative clergy brothers is precisely what she wants. On the other hand, this is concurrent with the ten Fajr days. The best service that theologians, scholars, and even senior scholars in the seminaries can perform is to go to the fronts and spread religious and ethical ideas among the dear combatants. He stressed: It is expected that propaganda officials, and especially the Qom Office of Propaganda, will be fully mindful of this important matter, and arrange things so that a large number of scholars and students will go to the fronts during the ten Fatimid and Fajr days with full coordination to meet propaganda needs at the fronts. The clerical brothers and scholars should realize that they are not expected to go to the front lines and fight the enemy. They are expected to try to discuss religious matters, matters related to religion, Islamic ethics, and the sources of suffering at the fronts with our dear combatants in a proper and desirable way, using basic sources and scholarly books. It is better if the young students who have just begun studying the religious sciences continue their studies, so that, God willing, they will be able to better serve Islam and the Islamic revolution in the near future. In conclusion, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri discussed the unwitting support to Iraq given by some reactionary leaders of area countries. Addressing himself to them, he said: I don't know what good it does you to support this Iraqi madman who has brought the area into the dust and blood. Don't you realize that Saddam has gone beyond the bounds of reason and logic in his activities and acts like a madman? What good can such a dangerous madman do you, except to cause America to force you every day to spend your petroleum money and your national essence to preserve the regime of a corrupt and insane man for a few more days? If you came to Iran, the country of Islam and the Koran, and submitted to the pattern of knowledge, piety, and Islam instead of going to Baghdad and aligning yourselves with this madman, and if you extended the hand of Islamic brotherhood to the Islamic Republic of Iran instead of submitting to an American puppet, it would definitely be better both for you and for the Muslim, oppressed nations. You must realize that these American pawns like

Saddam and that other mercenary in Sudan who executed a 70-year-old scholar for defending Islam are going to go sooner or later and their nations will be free. Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri stressed: Today, cooperation or silence in the face of the crimes and oppression of Saddam and the rest of America's mercenaries, in whatever form they take, is forbidden. Today it is the outcry of His Holiness Imam Hoseyn (Peace Be Upon Him), which was once given right there in oppressed Iraq, which is reaching the ears of the people; they are expecting that man whose pure grave, along with those of his companions and faithful supporters are also in Iraq. The Muslim nation of Iraq inside and outside Iraq must not be silent before the bloodthirsty idolaters of the time, and the senior scholars of the nation must guide them. Saddam is certainly no more powerful than Mohammad Reza Shah, and the nation of Iran, following the uprising of the clergy and their march forward, overthrew the idolater with empty hands and a cry in unison.

9310

CSO: 4640/412

IRAN

PRIVATE INVESTMENT SHOWS 100 PERCENT ANNUAL GROWTH

Tehran BURS in Persian 3 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Friday afternoon, the first day of the blessed ten-day Fajr observances for the anniversary of the Islamic revolution, the fourth exhibition of the attainments of the Islamic revolution opened at the permanent exhibition hall, attended by Mr Mir Hoseyn Musavi, Prime Minister, several ministers and Majlis representatives, and officials from government offices, organizations, and revolutionary groups.

The exhibition of the attainments of the Islamic revolution began with readings of several verses from the glorious words of God and the presentation of a report on how the exhibition was organized. Mr Mir Hoseyn Musavi, Prime Minister, then gave a talk in which he referred to the existing values in our Islamic society. He stressed that the ten days of Fajr are days in which we must sit and assess our accomplishments and give an answer to those people and forces who are trying to make a propaganda assault on the Islamic revolution. He said: If this revolution had been staged to achieve the desires of the superpowers, there would assuredly have been countless supporters for it in the world, and every movement, and its every move and word would have appeared great and important. If this revolution had been aligned with one of the powers dominating the political fate of the world today, and if the other power had made propaganda plots against this revolution, the first power would have helped us. From the first of the revolution, however, we were forced to rely on ourselves for our own defense in every domain. These are days that will certainly be important in terms of propaganda and in terms of reassessing what we have done. What is very important today is for us to realize that from the standpoint of our country's official position among other countries in the area of propaganda, we are alone. If, however, we consider the countries who are also without a means of saying their piece and of speaking in defense of their rights and hopes, we are certainly not alone.

The Prime Minister added: In order for us to understand where we are now, we must put ourselves in some system other than the one we are in now and ask ourselves whether this revolution was able to show the world anything or not. Was it successful or not, was it beneficial on the international scene or not, and hundreds of other such questions. You must do this in order to feel the greatness of our revolution. If we really do this we will see that despite all the plots, dastardly attacks and poisonous propaganda, our revolution has now gained a firm footing and is a loud voice in the world. This is something that they believe beyond our frontiers as well.

Mr Mir Hoseyn Musavi stressed the point that our revolution stands firm whether the superpowers and imperialists like it or not, and its strength increases with the passage of time.

What is important for us on the threshold of the seventh year of the revolution is that the hope of putting down the government of our Islamic republic, which once existed throughout the world, is now dead. All the superpowers and their surrogates have despaired of this. Today we no longer hear a single voice making claims such as those made early in the revolution that this revolution will fail. We are no longer in that position today. The situation has completely changed, and this has not been achieved easily. Our nation has achieved this with heartbreak and martyrdom.

Mr Musavi added: Another important point is that our revolution has enacted a different scenario for humanity, a scenario that had not been presented to the world's deprived and oppressed people before the Islamic revolution of Iran. After the ups and downs experienced by the liberation movements of the world, the people of the third world had despaired, lost hope, and reached a dead end. They had come to believe that no one can triumph over oppression without being dependent on the East or the West. It was the Islamic revolution that showed that revolution is possible, that it is possible to get free of the clutches of East and West, and this is a great asset that our Islamic revolution has given the world.

In conclusion, the Prime Minister discussed the country's economic situation and some of the economic indicators, such as the control of inflation and the growth of private investment. He said: According to reports from the Central Bank which we received in the month of Azar [22 Nov — 21 Dec], the rate of inflation was 11.9 percent, and if this rate is compared with that of other countries in the world, even the advanced countries, we see that the Islamic republic has been able to master and control the problem of inflation completely.

Citing reports from the Central Bank of Iran, Mr Musavi announced that the rate of private investment last year [21 March 1984 — 20 March 1985] was about 100 percent greater than the preceding year [21 March 1983 — 20 March 1984]. He expressed the hope that with guidance from the Imam of the nation the country would experience greater growth and advancement.

According to this report, at the conclusion of the opening ceremonies for the fourth exhibition of the attainments of the Islamic revolution Prime Minister Musavi visited the office of inventors and innovators in the Iran Scientific and Industrial Studies Office. He talked for more than an hour with the inventors and innovators participating in this exhibition concerning their problems and difficulties, as well as the characteristics of the devices and implements which have been built.

9310

CSO: 4640/412

IRAN

PAKISTANI PAPER COMMENTS ON ESCALATION OF GULF WAR

GF111310 Karachi DAWN in English 10 Mar 85 p 7

[Editorial: "Gulf War--New Targets"]

[Text] The 53-month Iran-Iraq war, which has already caused widespread destruction and economic dislocation, has now taken a serious turn with the two sides training their weapons on each others' civilian population. Amidst calls for restraint from the United Nations and the neighbouring Arab states, Iran and Iraq continue to pound each others' cities in what appears to be a desperate bid to force a decision in the protracted conflict by breaking the morale of the other side. The latest round of fighting began on Monday after Iraq reportedly, in violation of the 9-month old limited accord, shelled the Iranian cities of Ahvaz and Bushehr killing 11 civilians.

The two combatants do not appear to have any specific strategic goal before them in the so-called war of cities other than to unleash indiscriminate death and destruction. This is, however, unlikely to produce definitive results. Past experience of wars which have been extended to the civilian populations--such as Hitler's saturation bombing of England and the American air raids on Vietnam--shows that the large-scale killing and maiming of non-combatants and unplanned destruction of economic targets do not always force a solution. Such a strategy very often stiffens national resistance and adds to the government's determination to hold out.

More important, such attacks constitute a serious violation of international law and negate the very concept of the Geneva Convention as well as Islamic laws on warfare, which both states claim to uphold. Moreover, the latest attacks on civilian targets are serious because they point to the escalating crisis. The renewed vigour in the fighting comes in the wake of Iraqi efforts to achieve a breakthrough. For the first time since 1980, the Iraqis are now launching offensives along the 722-mile front and have stepped up attacks on the tankers in the Gulf carrying Iranian oil.

Apart from the human aspects of the war, what cannot be disregarded is its implication for regional security and the international politics of the Gulf. While the potential of the war developing into a major crisis has always been present, the danger of its escalating into a conflict drawing in the neighbouring states is quite real now. Moreover, the possibility of outside intervention cannot be ruled out either.

The Saudi Arabian call for 'effective action by the major powers' to contain the Gulf war is a clear indication that the war would not remain a limited one if any country in the region feels seriously threatened. Already the war has taken a heavy toll in terms of lives, economic property and political stability but neither side shows any inclination to end the fighting.

It is time the various mediators in the Gulf conflict--the UN, NAM and the ICO--renew their efforts to find a way out of the present impasse. Both Iran and Iraq should realise that by prolonging their war they will not only fail to achieve their political and military aims. They will also harm the interest of peace and stability in the region and in the net analysis make the process of reconstruction--when peace does come--more difficult and expensive.

CSO: 4600/330

IRAN

PETRO-ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA

Tehran BURS in Persian 28 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] At the conclusion of a visit by a Bulgarian commercial and economic delegation to our country, a one-year agreement was signed for economic, technical, and scientific cooperation between the two countries. Dr Zali, Minister of Agriculture, signed the agreement for Iran, and Khristo Khristov, Minister of Foreign Trade, signed for Bulgaria.

The agreement stipulated areas of cooperation between the two countries in the coming year, and it is anticipated that this agreement will make it possible to double the volume of trade between the two countries.

According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade, gave an interview as he was leaving Tehran. He said: In meetings between members of our delegation and Iranian government, industrial, and trade officials, it was agreed that Bulgaria would export machinery, chemical products such as fertilizer, some pharmaceutical products, petroleum products, foodstuffs, metal industrial products, and parts to Iran, and in exchange Bulgaria will import oil, metal ingots, cotton, passenger cars, mini-busses, certain agricultural products, light industrial products, and citrus fruits from Iran.

He added that during this trip plans were also made for cooperation in heavy industries, agriculture, mines and geology, as well as the exchange of experts and technological experience.

Dr Zali, Minister of Agriculture, also said that talks between the Bulgarian delegation and Iranian officials were held in three commissions, agriculture and power, industry and trade, and financial affairs, and the results of these talks were included in the agreement signed between the two countries.

He added: In the agricultural sector, in addition to cooperation in the areas of veterinary medicine, veterinary pharmaceuticals, pest control, fisheries and forests, Iran will export three thousand tons of cotton and a thousand tons of citrus to Bulgaria.

It is to be noted that during the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade's visit with our country's economic officials, Bulgaria's contract to buy 1.25 million tons of oil from Iran was renewed for 1985.

9310
CSO: 4640/416

IRAN

COMMUNICATION CENTER INAUGURATED IN BANDAR-E ANZALI

Tehran BURS in Persian 27 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] BURS correspondent—Last week a 2,500-unit communications center was opened in Bandar-e Anzali. The ceremonies, which began with readings from the Glorious Koran and comments from Mr Hazrat-Zad, Gilan Province General Manager of Communications, were held at the Bandar-e Anzali Municipal Guidance Administration Auditorium and were attended by a group of clergymen, the Deputy Governor-General of Gilan, chiefs of government offices, and tradesmen and businessmen. The General Manager of Communications thanked those invited and those participating in the ceremonies, and thanked the administrative offices for their cooperation. He especially thanked Mr Davod Sa'furi, Bandar-e Anzali Chief of Communications, and the other technical and administrative cadres for their unstinting efforts to expand this network. He explained that the previous history of this communications network and the delayed expansion of the Anzali center has caused deprivation economically and in terms of foreign policy. Continuing his remarks, Mr Hazrat-Zad said that on the basis of policy priorities, telephones have been installed in production centers and professional offices, and discussed the manner of assigning new telephones. He mentioned future expansion plans and the construction of buildings for new centers in Ghazian and Jadeh Astara. He said: I call upon the people of this municipality to assist and cooperate in the provision of suitable land for Bandar-e Anzali communications, in order to advance work on the network, so that we can meet the demands of the people of this city as soon as possible.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Haj Aqa Sobhani, Chief Justice, then gave a detailed speech concerning industry and our country's technical and professional experts. In accordance with Mr Hazrat-Zad's request, the General Manager of Gilan Communications, the first telephone connection was made between the supervisor of the Martyr Haj Aqa Zanjani foundation and a martyr's family in this city. Costs for the second 2,500-unit expansion of the Municipality of Bandar-e Anzali are listed below. In expanding, installing, and rewiring the network, 101,762,936 rials were spent. The installation and purchase of communications equipment cost 175,312,500 rials. The total cost, not including cables and cable installation equipment (air and ground), is estimated at more than 27,707,543 rials [as published].

9310

CSO: 4640/416

IRAN

FIFTEEN THOUSAND TONS COTTON TO BE EXPORTED THIS YEAR

Tehran BURS in Persian 31 Jan 85 p 5

[Text] If approved by the Majlis, basic agricultural crops will be purchased on a guaranteed basis.

'Abbas'ali Zali, Minister of Agriculture, held a press conference in which he discussed policies and measures which have been taken to increase agricultural production, as well as the purchase of agricultural goods at guaranteed prices and the export of agricultural crops.

According to a correspondent from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, he began by noting that the Ministry of Agriculture has been active in seeking to eliminate existing obstacles and difficulties in the production of wheat, cotton, and other agricultural crops. He said: Among the most important of these activities are the procurement of seeds and fertilizer and the establishment of supervisory facilities for pest control. With regard to these things, he said: Despite the fact that there has been a drouth in some areas, with the impetus the government has had for purchasing agricultural surplus, it has been able to buy 1.2 million tons of wheat for bread and 90 thousand tons of wheat for seed from this toiling group, and activities which have been carried out will be increased in the coming agricultural year.

He then said, with regard to cotton and rice, there were difficulties in purchasing high-yield rice No 2 and 3, as well as cotton from the farmers. The farmers incurred losses. However, the government was able to provide assistance to alleviate the problems.

In the current agricultural year, for the 220 thousand hectares of cultivated cotton we had a 15 percent production increase over the previous year, with 350 thousand tons of cotton, 100 thousand tons of which were ginned.

He added: With the planning that has been done, in the current year 15 thousand tons of cotton will be exported. On the basis of negotiations already held, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Brazil have declared their readiness to buy cotton. With regard to high-yield rice No. 2 and No. 3, we also had a production increase of 75,000 tons in the current agricultural year. With regard to sugar beets, the area under cultivation decreased, but with measures taken production per area unit cultivated increased over the previous year, so that so far 3.3 million tons of sugar beets have been delivered to the sugar factories.

With regard to the problems of cultivating sugar beets, he said: In this area we have had mechanical problems in the planting, growing, and harvesting stages. In order to encourage factories to produce more, a policy has been implemented that allows factories to sell their increased production on the free market. Arrangements have also been made to insure the

Khorasan beet crop for the coming agricultural year, so that farmers will cultivate sugar beets with greater enthusiasm. With regard to the purchase of agricultural crops, he said: On the basis of an amendment which has been placed before the Majlis, the purchase of basic agricultural crops will be done on a guaranteed basis.

The Minister of Agriculture then referred to feed production. He said: Every year large quantities of feed are imported. Plans are being studied and carried out to increase the level of production. For example, an eight-hectare project with the help of the people and the Kad project in the provinces of Khuzestan and Hormozegan are being carried out, which have had good results. Likewise, clover and [] have been cultivated on 20 acres of harvested rice land, and for the first time this project was carried out on rice lands in Khuzestan after the rice crop was harvested with very useful results. With regard to the ownership of agricultural lands, the Minister of Agriculture said: What is important to us now is to give the people incentive to grow crops. In this regard, every kind of aid, from facilities to loans, will be given to them, so that farmers will work with greater interest.

With regard to clarification of the short-term cultivation situation, steps have also been taken, and they will be helped as much as possible to remove difficulties. With regard to fisheries, he said: The private sector must give the government more assistance with regard to fishing. We are prepared to buy ships and other implements for fishermen, although there are problems with docking facilities in the harbors.

Zali then referred to the export of agricultural crops. He said: In view of the follow-up measures that have been taken, in the current year and in the future exporters will be able to export cotton, citrus fruits and red and green apples at good prices, and in turn they may import the packaging or factory equipment they need. He stressed: The necessary cooperation must be brought about with regard to packaging and standardizing these products.

With regard to agricultural census figures, Zali said: One of the problems in the Ministry of Agriculture is the lack of statistics and necessary information with regard to agricultural issues.

In this regard, on the basis of a request from the Ministry of Agriculture, in 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] an agricultural census will be taken.

In conclusion the Minister of Agriculture discussed the procurement of spare parts and machinery. He said: In this regard, arrangements have been made with the ministries of industry and commerce, and efforts will be made to produce certain machines in the country. With regard to the importation of spare parts, the necessary steps have also been taken.

9310

CSO: 4640/415

IRAN

GROWTH IN RENTAL HOUSING ENVISAGED FOR BIG CITIES

Tehran BURS in Persian 28 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Text] On the basis of this ministry's new policy, more growth in rental housing is planned for the big cities, and growth in individual homes in the small cities and deprived provinces.

The closer we come to the big cities, we will see more rental housing, and as we approach the small and deprived cities there will be an increase in individual homes.

According to the Islamic Republic News Service, Engineer Kazeruni, Minister of Housing and Urban Development, who had come to Zahedan at the head of a delegation, announced this at a meeting of this organization's administrative council. The meeting was attended by the Friday Imam of Zahedan, the Imam's representative in Sistan va Baluchestan, the Governor-General, aides to the Governor-General, the chief of the sheriff's office and the gendarmerie, as well as managers and officials from the executive organizations in the Governor-General's office.

According to this report, during the meeting the Minister of Housing and Urban Development gave a speech in which he discussed the ministry's new goals and policies. He announced that we are now in need of 1.7 million residences, and that we must try, with precise and proper planning, to resolve the housing crisis for the year 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] and subsequent years. He said: Efforts have been made in the large cities such as Tehran to build prefabricated houses as much as possible, to use semi-prefabricated houses in the small cities, and to build individual homes in the rural areas. He observed that in the rural areas which are better off economically greater attention and assistance will be provided for home construction affairs such as the provision construction materials. He said: To help low-income groups and those who work in small and deprived cities such as the cities of Sistan va Baluchestan, we have doubled credit availability, so that if someone deposits 100,000 tomans in the bank, he will be loaned 200,000 tomans in return.

According to this report, in continuing his journey to Sistan va Baluchestan the Minister of Housing and Urban development visited housing and urban development projects in Zahedan, including individual homes, apartments, 800 construction projects in the Plan and Budget Organization, warehouse construction projects, the Central Commerce Administration Building, which is under construction, and studied first-hand the issues and problems pertaining to these construction projects.

According to the same report, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development and his party went to the municipality of Zabol yesterday morning to study and inspect housing and urban development projects in this municipality. He was met by the Friday Imam of Zabol and local officials.

IRAN

OVER 300 LOW-COST HOUSING UNITS TO BE BUILT IN MAZANDARAN

Tehran BURS in Persian 27 Jan 85 p 5

[Text] Mazandaran—BURS correspondent—In an interview we held on 11/2/1363 [22 Jan 1985], brother Hojjatollah Haj Aqa Esfahani, a public relations official for the Mazandaran Central Office of Housing and Urban Development, discussed his office's method of operating.

He said: First of all, fortunately office this enjoys very good coordination, and all workers in this office, with their outstanding activity in all areas, advance our goals. The activities of the Mazandaran Central Office of Housing and Urban Development, within the framework of the stated goals and policies of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for national development, are given below.

A — The implementation of urban development projects, such as the construction of belt line roads, dikes, tourist centers, sports centers, and educational and cultural centers.

B — The establishment of housing structures, including low-cost housing for the use of low-income people; the establishment of organizational housing for government staff; the establishment of organizational housing for the use of sheriff's and gendarmerie employees and teachers.

J — The construction of government buildings in order to provide a suitable environment for carrying out government administrative work.

D — The preparation, supervision, and control of comprehensive, inclusive, and comparative maps of the cities of Mazandaran.

Last year about 324 low-cost housing units were completed in 14 cities and municipalities at a cost of 1,909,017 rials, and ceremonies were held to turn over 310 of those units to low-income people; ceremonies for turning over the remainder will be held in the near future. In the area of constructing organizational housing, the activities of this office include the construction of 20 organizational houses for government employees at a cost of 82,232 rials in four cities, and the construction of six sheriff's housing units in the city of Gonbad at a cost of 20,547 rials. In the area of urban development and government buildings, this office's activities include 14 development projects in nine municipalities with the expenditure of 287,932 rials. These activities were very outstanding, and this office was able to obtain the entire budget required for the development work.

At the conclusion of the interview Hojjatollah Haj Aqa Esfahani added: The Office of Housing and Urban Development has decided to build 200,000 housing units by the end of the year 1364 [20 March 1986].

IRAN

ALL INFIRM IRAQI POWS TO BE FREED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, our country's Prime Minister met with the Iranian Commission on Prisoners and Missing Soldiers of the Imposed War. At this meeting, he announced that Iran will unilaterally release all infirm and ailing Iraqi prisoners.

At this meeting, the secretary of the Commission on Prisoners and Missing Soldiers of the Imposed War gave a full report to the prime minister on the status of the heroic Iranian prisoners and missing soldiers and their families, as well as their families and their problems. He also gave a summary of the activities of this commission, which went into operation around a year and a half ago under the supervision of the Supreme Defense Council.

The prime minister then expressed his appreciation for the efforts of the members of this commission; he stressed the need for as much attention as possible to the status of Iranian prisoners and missing soldiers from the imposed war and their respected families. At this meeting, the prime minister referred to the recent report by the special United Nations Special Delegation for studying the status of prisoners from the imposed war. He announced that the Islamic Republic of Iran, in order to demonstrate its righteousness and to continue its previous humanitarian measures, will unilaterally release all infirm and ailing Iraqi prisoners not yet released. It is hoped that Iraq, under the pressure of international public opinion, will be forced to release the ailing, wounded, and non-military Iranian prisoners who were captured at the beginning of the war by Iraqi soldiers.

At this meeting, Engineer Musavi also expressed the hope that the publication of the U.N. report would be an effective factor in improving the situation of Iranian prisoners in Iraq and in disclosing the status of thousands of Iranian prisoners who are being held secretly by Iraq, as well as in putting an end to the propaganda and political use of the issue of humanitarian treatment of prisoners by the Iraqi regime.

9310
CSO: 4640/449

IRAN

IRAQI POWS REPORTEDLY MEET WITH FAMILIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] Yesterday morning 100 Iraqi prisoners from camps Takhti, Parandak, Kohrizak, and other camps around Tehran, met with their dear ones in a warm and sincere atmosphere at the Heshmatiyeh Camp, almost in the center of the city. These visits had been planned in order to relieve their families' distress.

These visits continued into the afternoon yesterday. Most of the prisoners' families came with their children, and were able to visit freely and in a warm and spiritual atmosphere with their dear ones, who are imprisoned away from their families because of the oppression and cruelty of the infidel Ba'thist regime. They ate lunch together yesterday in the warm sunshine.

According to KEYHAN's correspondent, the program began with a short speech from Colonel Behnud, Commander of the Heshmatiyeh camp, in which he welcomed the prisoners and their families. He said:

Since our country is a Muslim country and is run according to Islamic law, and since this unwanted war has been imposed on us, the officials and administrators of our prison camps treat prisoners as temporary guests of the Islamic republic, according to the orders of the Imam of the nation and the leader of the Islamic revolution. As you have already seen, all the facilities that are provided for a soldier of Islam, including cultural, exercise, health, ideological, and other types of facilities, are also provided for prisoners.

Concluding his talk, he expressed the hope that the imposed war would end as quickly as possible with a final victory for the combatants of Islam, and that these dear ones would return rich with religious knowledge to the warm embrace of their families in Muslim Iraq.

Colonel Behnud then joined the assembled reporters, informed them of the new arrangements in the program for prisoners to visit their families, and answered their questions.

He said: Arrangements have been made recently to enable the families of prisoners, wherever they are in the world, to visit their dear ones in any camp, and to enter and leave the country easily without having to deal with crippling regulations and difficult rules.

He added: These visits took place previously, but not to the extent of recent visits and not in this form. Since there were difficulties for the families in finding their dear ones, getting around in the country, and because of the distance, arrangements were made so that after the families locate their dear ones at the Foreign Ministry and at other designated sites they can meet with their

dear ones at the Heshmatiyeh camp, approximately in the center of the city, without the problems of transportation and traveling great distances. He added: There are no restrictions of any kind in the visitation program. Even if demand is great, the visitation program is immediately arranged and takes place. Visitors who are spouses of prisoners are also provided with additional facilities for the visit.

Arrangements have also been made to enable prisoners who are in different camps anywhere in the country to be in the same camp if they are related to each other and if they so desire.

He then noted: Besides having all kinds of spiritual and material facilities, prisoners are also paid for the work they do. Moreover, if they wish they may send their handicrafts to their families in Iraq.

According to KEYHAN's correspondent, during the visits correspondents spoke freely with the prisoners and their families and prepared their material on their sincere and warm visits.

Reza Morteza, an Iraqi prisoner captured on Majnun Island in the month of Esfand last year [20 Feb - 20 Mar 1983], expressed his thanks for the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran's humanitarian measures as he ate fruit and sweets with his sister, nephew, and children. Concerning the manner of his imprisonment, he said:

I was at home one night during the month of Dey last year [22 Dec 1982 - 20 Jan 1983] when they came into my house and sent me to the front. I told them: I have a wife and nine children, who is going to pay their expenses? They paid no attention to me, however, and sent me to the front as soon as I got dressed. I spent a month at various fronts, until I was captured at Majnun Island by my Iranian brothers after three days there.

He continued: From the moment I was captured I felt free, and I was especially delighted by the very good behavior of my Iranian brothers.

He said: In our camp we have all kinds of health, exercise, and cultural facilities, and we pass our time obtaining religious and cultural knowledge and awareness.

His sister, who, delighted to be visiting her brother, kissed him every few minutes, told our correspondent: God damn this Saddam, who has separated my brother from his nine children. Although my brother has sent more than 20 letters to his family, he still hasn't heard anything from them after a year. This infidel has created such an atmosphere in Iraq that no one feels the slightest bit of security. We have a large family in Iraq, but we don't write to them out of fear of Saddam and the Ba'thist infidels, because they would be arrested immediately and either tortured or expelled from Iraq.

Berzu Naji, an Iraqi Kurdish prisoner who was visiting and speaking with his father, mother, and brothers, expressed his thanks before correspondents, photographers, and film makers for this unprecedented, Godly measure by the Islamic Republic of Iran, which had made it possible for him to visit with his family. He wanted these passionate, outstanding visits to be shown to the people of the world so that the goodwill of the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran would be proven to everyone.

According to this report, 'Abd ol-Karim 'Ali So'udi, an Iraqi prisoner who was visiting his maternal aunt for the second time, expressed his appreciation to officials for arranging the visitation program. In an interview with correspondents, he said: Since the time I was captured by the combatants of Islam I have had no discomfort or difficulty. I have tried to achieve literacy in the literacy campaign classes and to acquire religious and cultural knowledge.

IRAN

RAFSANJANI CRITICIZES TURKISH PRESS FOR VIEWS ON UN INQUIRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani met yesterday with participants in a seminar on central media. He said: One media responsibility is to reflect the truths that pass through their offices, so that the nation will realize what their revolution is doing for them.

At this meeting, the Majlis speaker also added: I warn our nation to look with skepticism upon anyone who relentlessly attacks the revolution, the government, and the services that are provided to the nation. The Majlis speaker also said that foreign newspapers and radio stations treated the United Nations report unfairly, and the Turkish newspapers were the most malicious of all, spreading as much poison as they could.

The Majlis public relations report states that at the beginning of this meeting Tajzadeh, International Relations Deputy of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, gave a report to the Majlis speaker on the manner of organizing the seminar, and following that Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani gave a talk.

The Majlis speaker said: If the media works smoothly, in unison, as a piece of whole cloth, and in a calculated way it can play an important role for the next few years for this sensitive part of our society's needs. It appears that after these stages that we have now placed behind us, we have now been caught up extensively in a particular bottleneck with the enemy, and this is a propaganda and psychological war.

If the superpowers are in conflict today among themselves over satellite and space wars, how have we and the imperialists gotten into a psychological and propaganda war over anti-missile warfare? They have tried economic warfare and seen that it makes us stronger; they have tried military means as well and seen that it was entirely in our interest; they have even tried terrorism, but it only served to purge our society, because corrupt and mercenary elements have been recognized and rejected. If they had hopes of one day starting up a political wind in the country with dissident groups, with this curse that appeared in society out of the opponents of the Islamic republic as the result of terrorism, the war of terrorism is no longer very effective in Iran either. What I feel in existence today, which the enemy is banking on as well, is the propaganda war, and this propaganda war, with all its dimensions, is now being spread by the enemy. They are promoting a policy in the country now which I call the "let out your anger" program. They spread poisonous propaganda among the people to let out their anger, and since this revolution has not performed an effective service for society, since this is a long-term task, in any way they can, they spread claims, statistics, and falsified figures on prisons, executions, and war casualties,

ignoring and minimizing the services preformed in the rural and deprived areas, and throughout the country politically, economically, culturally, and in every other dimension, in order to sap the revolution's popular support. Unfortunately, in this our good friends, our own forces, sometimes serve them. Paying no attention to them, they sympathetically criticize, but the criticism becomes a war conducted on the enemy's behalf; criticism itself is a good thing.

I feel that today the enemy is primarily counting on the propaganda war, which must be the case, but this war requires a certain cleverness to keep this criticism from making the people release their anger and carry out the enemy's policy. I therefore warn our nation to look skeptically upon those who relentlessly criticize the revolution, the government, and the services provided in the country, if they do not have confidence in them. Throughout the world there is an extensive and calculated plot in the newspapers and radios. Its perpetrators are the Zionist, imperialist, and communist information services, who have joined hands to launch an extensive propaganda campaign against us. I will give just one example, but this work must be continued. We must have intelligent people to analyze these things, to identify the contours of the enemy's planning and cut it off. For example, there is the story of the prisoners of war, and we have many such issues. You must analyze and break down this story. The incident begins with the Red Cross, with an event that they clearly instigated themselves. When they went to see and meet with the prisoners, they created an incident there. They incited the Ba'thist prisoners to create a disturbance and then they created an uproar in the world that was really extraordinary. Without prior organization, there is no power in the world capable of provoking all this all over the world. Propaganda must be planned ahead of time. Once we saw that planning had been done in the small countries so that their newspapers could compete in the preparation of posters on the prison camp episode. The newspapers, radio stations, international organizations, and organizations more or less aligned with the world's parliaments started in. They even drew the United Nations into it, and they made plans to come to Iran and see Iran. We told the truth during those days. We said that our claims concerning the Iraqis will be much stronger if you want to go to Iraq first and then come to Iran. There was a period of delay, and finally Iraq gave in and they were defeated there. That is, we asked them, why did you make this accusation against Iran? We have been saying for years that we have non-combatant prisoners in Iraq. Our minister is there. You don't listen to what we say at all. Later when they came here, they didn't think. They lied so much that they believed it themselves, and this is the nature of lying. The media said it so much, the very organizations who were the instruments of this plot said that there must be something afoot.

According to the information we have from within the United Nations delegation, they were shocked. When they went to our camps, they saw something strange. They saw that these Iraqi prisoners, although they had been prisoners for four years, they were infatuated with the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and liked chanting for the Islamic republic and against Saddam and America even more than our own Partisans of God. Even in the Gorgan incident the United Nations delegation was unable to accomplish anything with any of the prisoners they talked with privately. On the contrary, they saw that the story was different. They had never seen such camps in their own countries. They saw with surprise that four-year prisoners had become strong supporters of the Islamic republic and were ready to come out of the camps and fight in the war for the Islamic republic. The delegation was thus faced with a problem in the preparation of its report. Pressure was applied from all sides, and they saw that if they prepared such a report everything would be reversed. Throughout the text of the report, we see that the only weakness given concerning Iran was that Iran gives the prisoners propaganda and ideology. This is one of our strengths. They wanted to discredit us with this interpretation, but it was actually praise.

Our nation knows, and the world knows as well, something in the mind of a great man is also great; is it possible to force someone to believe something? The extreme case is the silent officer who has seen the role of the staff and is our prisoner today; can he be turned around with propaganda, or made into a Partisan of God by force? Our life, behavior, manner of encounter, radio and television, newspapers, and officials have been such that the prisoners have reached this conclusion themselves; those oppressors and unjust people have called this ideological pressure. If this is ideological pressure, how have these Ba'athists of theirs come and killed them? They are all the same. Under this pressure in a camp, most of them have developed ideas of this type, and a minority have retained their old ideas. If these gentlemen were really fair, they would have seen that when they were captured in Khorramshahr, they chanted against Saddam right there. When they came out of their fortifications they felt free. It is not, as they imagine, as if we made all of them the way they are ourselves. Many of them hated Saddam, and when they became prisoners here they were liberated. Many families fled after their children were captured and came here, and now visit them in the camps. The opposite of this is in the Iraqi camps where our prisoners are. They continually show dancing shows on the television for our children. If they do not force them to listen, they unplug the radios. We have nothing to say. Let them show what they want. In order to make a point to give as temporary fodder to the imperialist media, the United Nations clouded the issue. It said that both sides apply pressure. In Iran, there is ideological pressure, and in Iraq there is pressure with whips, electric shock, bodily torture, sleeplessness, and injustice. Are these two kinds of pressure equal? Are you in the civilized world? Then they gave this to the media. The newspapers and some of the radio stations treated this so unfairly that it makes a person retch. The most malicious of the newspapers of the world today are the Turkish papers, who are now claiming friendship with us. These are ultimately the shadow of Attaturk, who was like our own Reza Khan. Their anti-religiousness is preserved. They propagated what poison they could in their newspapers. The upshot of what they said is that in Iran and in the camps they have spread religious propaganda. They have called this torture, and even though it is propaganda that has led many of them to embrace Islam.

He continued: The principal responsibility of the media is to reflect the facts that pass through their offices. The points of strength in the offices are correct news stories that take place in that locality, and those things which inform the nation as to what the revolution has done for them. These things must be reflected. You must get rid of that policy of releasing anger, and thwart the propaganda of others by presenting and clarifying the issues that come into your office. A suitable atmosphere must be created for our propaganda organizations so that they can guide society and answer the enemy, so that we can win this psychological and propaganda war.

9310

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27 March 1985

IRAN

DIVERSIFIED SOURCES OF INCOME KEY TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Tehran BURS in Persian 3 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Musavi, prime minister, at seminar held at Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, 2 Jan 85]

[Text] Yesterday a seminar examining the collection and expenditure of employment taxes began its two-day agenda with a speech by Eng Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister at the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance. According to a report by IRNA's correspondent, the seminar's first session was attended by Dr Namazi, minister of economic affairs and finance, Banki, minister of state for executive affairs and chief of the plan and budget organization, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i, Majlis representative for Mashhad, governors-general, directors general of provincial economic affairs and finance, deputy ministers, directors general, advisors and experts from the ministries of economic affairs and finance, interior and plan and budget organization, and other officials involved in the state's financial and tax matters.

First of all Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister, gave a speech, in which he expressed hope that the exchange of views and discussions taking place in the seminar would lead to finding a new path and movement towards obtaining sources of income other than those gotten from petroleum, and said: The step that we are taking in the economic areas is that of separating our economy from the effects and fluctuations of the world economy, and this step is that of using sources of income without relying on petroleum income. He added: That which is occurring in the Persian Gulf with the support of the superpowers tells us that they will not cease from affecting our economy and policies. If we rely solely on oil, we will be vulnerable. We will not be able to reach self-sufficiency and complete independence until we rely on diversified sources of income. If we wish to continue the direction of our Islamic revolution and commit ourselves to the destiny of the world's oppressed, we must eliminate our points of vulnerability; although they will continue exerting pressure unless we compromise and give up our lofty ideals. The prime minister said: In order to continue the direction of our Islamic revolution we must solve our economic problems. The superpowers are watching our economic problems. They notice the fluctuations occurring in our country's economy and exaggerate them. For example, they raise a ruckus over the distribution of goods and are always discussing inflation in Iran. At the same

time they make no mention at all to countries they are friendly with which are not involved in a war as we are but which have rates of inflation several times greater than ours. He added: With faith, patience and our revolution we will fill in those pits and points they think vulnerable. We must stand on our own feet economically to ensure our financial security and our Islamic revolution. We must avoid economic fluctuations from outside the country. This is a principle of our policy and if we are slack in this area, foreign plots will concentrate on it and thus construct a tool to suppress the revolution. Considering the economic matter is a very important issue on which the revolution's destiny depends. We cannot be a herald of the Islamic revolution's values while we do not have a completely independent and self-sufficient economy.

The prime minister then pointed to the ups and downs of the price of oil and said: If during the past year the rise and fall of the price of oil affected some of our economic plans, it was due to the effects of foreign economic fluctuations and our reliance on oil. One of the ways to avoid being affected is to use tax sources.

He then pointed to the historical precedent for tax payment, and said: For years paying taxes was considered a help to a tyrannous government. Today however, the direction of our system is clear to the people and this old culture must change. We must have a self-reliant economy. We are not claiming that we should not use our oil resources, and we will continue to use this vital material to benefit ourselves and the world's oppressed nations both from the economic and political angles. Fundamentally, oil today is a political tool, but we will not make our destiny dependent on oil. For this reason we are taking a step towards separating ourselves from a one-product economy.

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CSO: 4640/307

IRAN

SUGGESTIONS MADE FOR SALE OF COMPANY STOCKS TO WORKERS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Feb 85 p 21

[Text] Political Service—Hoseyn Kamali and Mahjub, two members of the Workers' Hall Central Council gave a press conference yesterday afternoon in which they announced the views and proposals of the Workers' Hall concerning the sale of factory shares to workers.

Workers' Hall Central Council member Mahjub began the press conference by giving a history of industrial ownership in various societies of the world and comparing that to the economic system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He said: In Western societies, the principles and priorities of ownership are on the side of the owners of capital. These people try to keep the industrial system in their clutches by monopolizing all the means of production, and to increase their dominance over the various industries and their wealth every day. The results of this are fully evident today in the creation of the big industrial trusts and cartels. Of course, in the Iran of the past this was accomplished by a special group of people who could not even read or write, and the country's major industries were controlled in practice by a special group.

He also discussed the characteristics of industrial ownership in Eastern societies. With regard to the increase in private sector activity in the government of the Islamic republic through the issuance of shares in factories to workers, he said: We clearly announce that we are in no way opposed to the private sector, and we do not deny the truth that the principle of proper activity in this sector can be very effective for the growth and maturity of the country's industry. We are opposed, however, to the creation of entities such as big trusts and cartels in Iran, because we believe that monopoly in industry will cause discrimination and the elimination of many of a country's active and creative forces. Therefore, an environment must not be created where, God forbid, small amounts of capital will gradually become monopolies over the long term with the help of daily increasing demand and special marketing policies.

Continuing, Mahjub said: We think that the key to solving the problems with the economic system in the Islamic republic lies in the precise implementation of the constitution's provisions in this regard. This matter is to some extent clarified in the Constitution in the introduction to Paragraph Two Principle 43. According to this law, those who do not have the implements and tools for work must be given the means to work. We think that the resources and facilities must be created so that the worker is capable of true participation, not artificial participation. True participation is not something that can be accomplished easily in a short period of time. Therefore, the government must definitely make the facilities under consideration in this regard available. Likewise, popular support and cooperation from executive organizations are a prerequisite for carrying out this project.

Hoseyn Kamali, representative of the people of Tehran and member of the Workers' Hall Central Council, was asked a question by a correspondent regarding the status of issuing factory shares to workers, thereby activating the private sector. He answered: With regard to the accumulation of cash in the private sector and the issuance of industrial shares, first this sector's responsibility must be evaluated from the standpoint of whether their capital has been accumulated legitimately under religious law or not. It must be made clear where this cash came from and how it was accumulated. This is directly related to Principle 49 of the Constitution, and as long as this principle is not implemented, any measures to issue industrial shares will cause disorder in the country's industry and economy. We cannot sacrifice the capital of manpower to the threats of capital owners. As long as capital creates disorder in the distribution sector and puts pressure on society, we cannot afford to sacrifice labor to the floating capital of capital owners instead of decisively confronting the factors for this pressure.

With regard to the issuance of shares in damaged factories to workers, Kamali said: Our industries are not damaged, and if you hear discussions of damage in a factory, this damage is actually the result of a loss of money which floating capital owners have either exported or distributed improperly within the system. Otherwise, the industries are generally profitable. He said: The distribution of industrial shares to workers will take place universally.

He then listed the views and proposals of the Workers' Hall concerning the method of issuing industrial shares to workers, as follows:

- 1 - By implementing the Production and Industrial Unit Expansion Law, and implementing Principles 49-99 of the Constitution, so that workers can obtain shares through the utilization of profits.
- 2 - Participation of worker capital in the purchase of stocks and with the utilization of reserve credit such as the Social Procurement Organization.
- 3 - Quantities for repurchase by workers in factories.
- 4 - Amortization of loans and stock payments through overtime.
- 5 - Direct purchase of stocks by workers.

The representative of the people of Tehran also discussed the method of management of factories whose shares will be sold to the workers. He said: Along with the issuance of a factory's stocks, the management of that factory and in general its industries will be turned over to the workers, and the government will only be responsible for guiding the new industrialists in the advancement of production. Any relationship with the private sector with regard to income and its management will be at the discretion of the operators themselves.

Continuing his remarks, Mahjub discussed views in the world economy concerning turning industries over to the workers, and the participation of the people in taking over the administration of industries. He said: Since our economic system must be separate from the East and the West, the participation of workers in the management of industry and giving them industrial ownership will be a great change among worker groups of the world. In view of the experiences our workers had early in the revolution in the management of factories and industrial units, if this proposal is implemented they will certainly continue their work with greater enthusiasm and interest, and production will increase under such a system.

With regard to the status of stocks purchased by workers of some factories under the former regime, Hoseyn Kamali said: All factory stocks belonging to workers which were purchased previously are accredited and acceptable. Of course, under the former regime, the sale of stocks to workers had a superficial aspect. Nowhere did workers participate in the profits of a factory, but with the implementation of this proposal, if a factory has profits or losses the workers will participate in its profits and losses.

He also discussed the sale of industrial stocks to the people. He said: In the first stage, the workers of the units whose stocks are being sold will have priority. The next order of priority for such shares will go to those who have some kind of relationship with the work and activities of the factory. For example, if the stocks of a sugar cube factory are sold, after the factory's own workers, priority will go to sugar beet workers and those who procure raw materials.

Hoseyn Kamali discussed the stages of implementation of the proposal to sell industrial stocks to workers. He said: This proposal has been approved by the Supreme Industrial Council. The exact details on the method of transfer and the types of factories included will be listed in a set of guidelines to be compiled within three months. He expressed hope for this proposal, and mentioned reception of workers in this regard. He added: This proposal is in its first stages, in the hands of executive organizations, who must provide the necessary cooperation and assistance so that, God willing, the promise which the Constitution makes to the workers in this regard will be carried out.

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CSO: 4640/445

IRAN

EDITORIAL EXAMINES SHARING OF COMPANY STOCKS WITH PEOPLE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Feb 85 p 17

[Text] The question of how the people and the private sector can participate as extensively as possible through the transfer of ownership of some shops and production factories at various levels in the country has been raised for discussion among workers and executive officials. Because of the role and importance policies adopted in this area can have on the future course of the industrial sector, and naturally society and the revolution, the extensive dimensions of this matter must be evaluated and studied by the country's officials, industrialists, and economists.

Towards this end, we begin by studying the state of industry after the revolution and the government's reasons and obligations in the management and initiation of industries, and we will then study the desirable way for the people to participate in production activity.

The disorderly state of industry at the time of the triumph of the Islamic revolution in all areas, such as technological dependence, the flight of capitalists and industrial owners, financial corruption, falsified accounting and illegal use of public resources, created conditions under which industry could not be brought out of stagnation, prevented from declining further, and returned to a condition of growth and healthy economic activity without effective intervention by the government and the Revolutionary Council.

The government's accomplishments in the industrial field in the last few years, despite numerous problems and difficulties, such as the economic embargo, damage resulting from the imposed war, inexperience in the area of management, and the shortage of specialists believing in the revolution show the worthiness and devoted labor of the workers, employees, and the officials in the industries involved. A cursory glance at the indicators pertaining to the country's large industrial factories will confirm the above.

In the area of production, the general indicator for the year 1356 [21 March 1977 - 20 March 1978] is 150.7, and it reached 157.6 in the year 1361 [21 March 1982 - 20 March 1983]. In the area of employment, we see that the indicator increased from 126.3 in the year 1357 [21 March 1978 - 20 March 1979] to 149.4 in the year 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984].

In evaluating the extent of success in the management and initiation of industries, one must take note of at least several points. First, the standards used in evaluating the success must conform to the objectives set for the industrial sector (at least the government sector). If the government's goal is to reduce inflation and support low-income people, it is natural that the industries covered will be encouraged to distribute to all points. In this case, incomes will simply cover costs and profit will not actually be a consideration.

Under such circumstances, one may not criticize the accomplishments of such industries for not showing a profit or in some cases for showing a loss on their balance sheets, because the basic goal was not to show a profit in the economic sense. This point has evidently escaped the notice of those who criticize the government's activity in industry.

Secondly, some areas of industrial activity, by their very nature, make low profits, and this is an international matter not at all confined to our country. Therefore, in judging the manner of working and the degree of success of policies, this point must also be given the necessary attention.

Thirdly, because of the importance that the basic and strategic industries have in building the country's total economy, any imbalance in this sector of industry will have undesirable effects on the other sectors. The adoption of any mistaken policy will do irreparable damage, and the intervention and careful supervision by the public (government) sector in this area is thus unavoidable.

In addition to the issues above, due to the existence of external factors, effective government intervention in industrial affairs and in the procurement of capital resources is of the utmost importance.

Under current circumstances, as industries have emerged from stagnation and bankruptcy and have gotten onto a relatively suitable and desirable course of growth and the possibility has developed for the people and the private sector to participate in the industrial sector, industrial policy must be made in such a way that the priorities and goals of the Islamic revolution will not be subordinated to one or several other goals.

There is no doubt that the people's participation in economic activity will produce a qualitative and quantitative growth in production, because it will create a spirit of competition. The private sector's manner of participation and activity in the furthering of economic independence, and in enabling the industrial sector to procure society's true needs and to distribute them evenly and in a coordinated manner in all the economy's basic and vital sectors, can be spelled out clearly.

The transfer of some industries to the private sector will reduce the government's financial burden and reduce the volume of currency in circulation, while it will make the necessary resources available for basic and fundamental capital investment. The policy of transferring industry will conform to goals established when there is no possibility of centralizing and using wealth through the creation of production or marketing monopolies, and when employment has been created and the need for imports has been reduced in the process of reducing technological dependence.

The fact that people of means, because they have capital resources, could enter the private production investment process, and that statistics and indicators given in the Prime Minister's economic report show that "of a total of 60 billion rials in registered investments in the year 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984], around 7 billion, or about one-ninth, is government investment while the private sector invested nine times as much, and the private sector's requests for industrial loans from the Bank of Industry and Mines increased 30 percent over the year 1361 [21 March 1982 - 20 March 1983]" affirms the above point.

Therefore, it appears logical and realistic that until arrangements are made so that stocks for the production units under discussion are deliberately turned over to the workers and employees of these units, those who have actually had a basic role in getting them into operation again and

bringing them to the profit-making stage are ones most entitled to manage them in the future. The adoption of such a policy will serve to prevent monopolies, adjust and and prevent the accumulation of wealth, create stimulation and motivation to increase the quantity and quality of products, and provide a suitable guarantee for the precise implementation of policies to spread industry in the interest of the deprived and oppressed of society.

In his economic report, Engineer Musavi, Prime Minister, said: We stress the Imam's statements, and have made policy on the basis of his collected guidance throughout the revolution. He has always stressed the oppressed and the deprived. In his most recent comments and message of 22 Bahman [11 Feb], he also strongly and firmly stressed this matter. We see that when he talks about the private sector, he is not talking about the circulation of wealth, he is not talking about giving rights to the greedy, he is talking about helping the private sector arisen from the ranks of the deprived. Anything that is not for the country's economic prosperity and in the interest of the oppressed and the deprived is not part of government policy. The government's line and policy is not to support big capital. The government's support is for the small capitalists, the deprived and oppressed sectors, and for the guilds risen from among these very oppressed and deprived classes who have suffered for Islam.

Now the question is, aren't the workers, employees, and producing and creative elements of society the best applications for the above comments, as participants in economic activity through the transfer of industrial stocks?

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IRAN

LONG-TERM PLANNING FOR COUNTRY'S MINES, METALS URGED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The president of the republic visited yesterday with the minister of mines and metals and a group of the country's officials in the metals and copper industries. Referring to the necessity for long-term industrial and production planning, he addressed himself to the managers, workers, and Islamic societies in the country's industries. He said: My emphatic advice is that you alertly watch the plots of the enemies of Islam being perpetrated by infiltrating and dangerous elements among the workers in the country's industrial sectors, in order to arrest the growth of industry, and that you deal with them decisively.

According to the presidential public relations office, Engineer Nili, Minister of Mines and Metals, along with ministry deputies and consultants, and members of the boards of directors from the National Steel Company, the Sar Cheshmeh Copper Company and the Mines Corporation met with Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i.

During this meeting, Engineer Nili began by giving a report on the activities of this ministry in various areas of steel production, the great Sar Cheshmeh Copper Complex, and export activities in the area of mines. Then the officials gave reports on the accomplishments of the Ahvaz Steel Complex, Sar Cheshmeh Copper, the iron foundry complex, the exploration activities of each of these ministries, as well as future projects for revitalizing and expanding the mining industries as much as possible in the country.

Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Khamene'i, president, then expressed thanks for the efforts made to improve the situation for the country's large industries and stressed the importance of their great sphere of activity. He said: In view of the general leaps of progress in the country and the opening of the field for the blooming of talents, and in view of the people's support, the necessary leaps of progress should be made in all sectors, so that your sector, with the constituency it has today, can make greater efforts to reach significant success in the area of achieving self-sufficiency.

In another part of his talk, he stressed the necessity for cooperation between government departments, especially in the area of mother industries. He mentioned the matter of looking to the future and the necessity of long-term industrial and production planning. He said: The country's self-sufficiency in the matter of raw materials is extremely important, and your sector must take effective steps in planning for the future.

In conclusion, the president stressed the greatest use possible of efficient and motivated elements in the country's various sectors, and the necessity for the greatest possible solidarity between management, workers, and the Islamic societies in the country's great production and technical complexes.

IRAN

MARTYR BEHESHTI HOSPITAL IN QOM TO BECOME OPERATIONAL SOON

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Feb 85 p 9

[Qom-KEYHAN correspondent]

[Text] Although construction on the 360-bed Martyr Beheshti Hospital in Qom is nearly completed, the group which will administer it, and how its technical and medical personnel are to be procured, have not yet been specified.

Habib Payani, executive representative of the Central Province Housing and Urban Development Administration, discussed the technical characteristics of this great hospital project in an interview with our correspondent. He said:

The Martyr Beheshti Hospital is undergoing the final phases of construction on a 101,045 square meter site with a 27,500 square meter foundation. The hospital has nine floors and 360 beds not including the delivery and emergency sections. Its facilities and equipment include an air conditioning cable system, a kitchen, self-service, a laundry with a pressing department, a medical gas system including oxygen, vacuum pumps, anaesthesia, and compressed air, an autopsy department and attached refrigeration unit, basement sterilization centers and operation equipment, five elevators, garbage and bedding chutes, alarm systems for fires, the central clock, and calling nurses, as well as a central telephone system.

He added: The hospital's general departmental divisions include orthopedics, emergency, delivery and Caesarian, pediatrics, physical therapy and hydro therapy, surgery, internal medicine, radiology, various laboratories, five operating rooms, including separate emergency, delivery, and orthopedic operating rooms, and a sterile polyclinic in the general practitioner's section. As needed, the polyclinic section for ambulatory patients will be enlarged. The construction of adjoining buildings such as physicians' and nurses' quarters and a needed nursing school, which must be used in association with utilization of the hospital, is also under consideration, but unfortunately no decision has been made.

He also noted: Construction for this project began in the summer of 1355 [1976] under the supervision of the former Social Services Organization. After the triumph of the revolution, the half-completed framework of the project was turned over to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, and this ministry in turn turned over the task of completing the project to the Central Province Housing and Urban Development Administration.

The cost of carrying out this project is more than 200 million tomans so far, and construction and installation activities are 95 percent complete.

According to the scheduled plan, if there are no problems construction will be completed by the end of Farvardin in 1364 [20 March 1986]. Noting that so far no measures have been taken regarding the hospital grounds, he said:

We have corresponded with the Ministry of Health with regard to the training of specialist personnel for the building's installations, but the matter has not been investigated so far.

Dr Seyyed 'Ali Tabibzadeh, Director of the Qom Health Care Network, then discussed the method of procuring staff physicians and the matter of what organization would take on the hospital's administration with our correspondent. He said:

With regard to this, it is not yet definite whether or not the Ministry of Health will take on its administration, or the Ministry of Higher Education, or some other organization.

There, a decision must be made on this as soon as possible, in order to clarify which organization will procure its specialist cadre. He continued: Of course, in view of the country's shortage of medical specialists, it does not appear that either the Ministry of Higher Education or the Ministry of Health will be able to procure the hospital's needed staff by itself under current circumstances. The best thing to do therefore is for each ministry to establish a center for training specialist personnel.

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27 March 1985

IRAN

BRIEFS

IMPORT VOLUME ANNOUNCED—According to a public relations report from the Ministry of Roads and Transportation, goods imported into the country in the first ten months of the current year [21 March 1984 – 20 January 1985], not including urban freight, was 16.8 million tons, of which 11.1 million tons were brought in through the ports, the other 5.7 million brought in through other routes. The quantity of goods brought into the country through the ports in this period compared to that of the years 1361 [20 March 1982 – 20 March 1983] and 1362 [20 March 1983 – 20 March 1984] increased 52 percent and 17 percent respectively. The total freight for the first 10 months of the current year increased 11 percent over imports, with a 53 percent increase over the year 1361 [20 March 1982 – 20 March 1983] and a two percent decrease over the year 1362 [20 March 1983 – 20 March 1984]. This quantity of goods was carried by 942 thousand truck trips and 39 thousand rail car trips within the country. The same report says that during the first ten months of the current year [21 March 1984 – 20 January 1985] the total goods imported into the country were 15.2 million tons, 9.7 million tons of which, or 64 percent of all imports, came in through the ports, and the remaining 36 percent through other entry routes. This quantity of imports, compared with imports in the same period in the years 1361 [20 March 1982 – 20 March 1983] and 1362 [20 March 1983 – 20 March 1984] shows that there was a 29 percent increase over 1361 and a 25 percent decrease over 1362. The quantity of basic goods unloaded during this period in the ports was around 6.7 million tons, which including the 1.3 million additional tons of basic goods imported through overland routes, makes a total of around 8 million tons of basic goods imported. This quantity is about one percent greater than that called for in the scheduled planning. Including 320 thousand tons of goods being unloaded at the docks and 369 thousand tons awaiting unloading, the quantity of basic goods being imported into the country's borders in the first ten months of the current year [20 March 1984 – 20 January 1985] is about 8.7 million tons, which is ten percent higher than that called for in the scheduled planning. On the basis of existing statistics, increases in freight carried through all import access routes has meant that 1.4 million tons in sedimentary goods have been brought into the ports and 166 thousand tons of sedimentary goods have been imported through overland routes. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Feb 85 p 21] 9310

NON-PETROLEUM EXPORT INCREASE—A quantity of 7,540,385 kilograms of non-petroleum merchandise worth 17,346,000 rials was exported through Bushehr customs during the month of Dey [22 Dec – 20 Jan]. This figure is an increase of more than 6,970,000 kilograms over the month of Azar [22 Nov – 21 Dec]. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 31 Jan 85 p 2] 9310

LOANS TO FARMERS—In the first nine months of the current year [21 Mar — 21 Nov 1984] the Tabriz Municipality Rural Cooperatives Organization loaned 36.115 million rials in the form of Islamic contracts to 399 qualified area farmers. During the same period, 348,243,615 rials in claims were collected by the organization. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, in this period 2,120,672 kilograms of rice, 4,711,600 kilograms of sugar cubes and sugar, 1,359,077 kilograms of vegetable oil, 205,846 kilograms of tea, 672,080 kilograms of detergent, 6,473,850 kilograms of chemical fertilizer, 337,605 meters of cloth, 17,535 kilograms of poison, 2,202 oil-burning devices, and 333,424,414 rials in other needed merchandise were distributed among area farmers. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Jan 85 p 8] 9310

CEMENT PRODUCTION UP—The country's cement production will exceed 12 million tons by the end of the current year [20 March 1985]. After inspecting various components of the 2,000-ton Lushan cement project, Engineer Shafe'i, Minister of Industry, discussed the country's level of cement production in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: It is hoped that with coordination and planning already done, the level of cement production will exceed 12 million tons by the end of the current year [20 March 1985]. He said: In the first nine months of this year [21 March — 21 November 1984] nine million tons of cement have been produced and delivered to consumption centers in the country. Our country's Minister of Industry then declared that the desired cement production capacity for our country is 15 million tons per year and said that 85 percent of this goal is being met now. He also expressed the hope that with steps taken the country's cement production units would exceed 90 percent of that goal in the coming year. According to this report, the Minister of Industry visited the Qazvin glass factory and a number of other production and industrial units in the industrial city of Qazvin on his way back to Tehran. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 31 Jan 85 p 8] 9310

TECHNOLOGY SCHOOL EXPANSION PROJECT—With the implementation in the near future of the expansion project for the Semnan School of Advanced Technology with 600 million rials in credit, the number of students in this school will be increased to 600. If two admissions cycles per year are established, this number will reach 1,200 students. The President of the Semnan School of Advanced Technology announced this in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: In order to improve facilities for students, 230 million rials in credit have been allocated so that concurrent with the ten-day Days of God Fajr observances work will begin on building a 226-room dormitory for singles and married couples with a 5,000-square-meter foundation on a 16,000-square-meter site. When it is placed in service housing problems will be solved for students of this school. Continuing the interview, he discussed other programs in the Semnan School of Advanced Technology. He said: There are now 200 students studying in four programs, power, forging, heavy machinery, and machine tools. After completing their studies they will receive journeyman's credentials. He added: With the implementation of the school's expansion project, two programs of study, rural development and construction, will be added to existing programs. If possible, and with the implementation of subsequent stages of the project, it is hoped that we will be able to operate a journeyman's program in this school. In conclusion, the President of the Semnan School of Advanced Technology cited the shortage of specialist cadre as one of the school's problems, and he called upon officials in the factories and technical units to make more resources available to enable the school to operate an on-the-job academic training at the school for the students. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 4 Feb 85 p 4] 9310

REFINERY PRODUCTION LEVEL—The Ministry of Petroleum Public Information Office announced that the average amount of crude oil refined daily in the country's refineries in the month of Dey for the current year [22 Dec - 20 Jan] was 722,201 barrels, or 114,821 cubic meters, which is around 30.12 percent greater than the planned and anticipated capacity for refineries. Also, for the first time the Tehran refinery refined a daily average of 25 99.76 barrels of crude oil, which is about 30 percent more than its nominal capacity. Utilizing the units which are employed for distilling crude oil, around a thousand barrels of liquid gas, six thousand gallons of gasoline, eight thousand barrels of kerosene and gas oil products, and 27 thousand barrels of stove oil have been added to the Tehran refinery's other products. It is necessary to mention that in recent months deliveries of the four main petroleum products, gasoline, kerosene, gas oil, and stove oil to the Iran National Petroleum Distribution Company reached approximately 98.7 million liters per day. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 28 Jan 85 p 4]

INDUSTRIAL HUB TO BE CREATED IN ARDESTAN—With assistance from the Ministry of Industry, an industrial hub will be created in the plains city of Ardestan. The governor of Ardestan announced this in an interview with a correspondent from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: At the present time this hub is composed of a textile and serge production unit, a pile carpet production unit, a tent-making unit, a cable manufacturing unit, and small units producing ice, small poles, blocks, sand, gravel, and ceramics. He added: Construction work for these industries, and the construction preliminaries for the cable manufacturing unit have begun. He discussed Ardestan's population of 60,000, 12,000 of whom are in the city and the remainder of whom live in its more than 180 large and relatively large villages. He said: In view of the stagnation of this municipality's carpet industry, with the creation of these production units employment opportunities will be created there, and migration to other locations will be noticeably diminished. The mayor then discussed the deprivation in this municipality, including suitable hospital treatment services, potable water, the lack of electric lighting for 70 to 80 percent of the municipality's families, and a shortage of roads. He said: Our primary animal husbandry problem is the lack of pastures. Steps have been taken to implement a plan so that along with the cultivation of trees, which has been significant, steps will be taken to create the pastures necessary for animal husbandry. Continuing his remarks, he discussed the problems of procuring electrical power for industrial units under construction. He said: The Esfahan regional power company has promised to help, so that with the transfer of a mobile transformer to Ardestan a large portion of the municipality's domestic electricity needs will be met. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 31 Jan 85 p 4] 9310

HAMADAN RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS—With a 17.1 billion rial development budget for the current year, the Province of Hamadan has carried out 259 urban projects, 726 rural projects, and 72 joint and public projects. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS SERVICE, this was announced by the Hamadan governor-general's aide for development at a meeting of the Hamadan Administrative Council. He added: Of this year's development projects, 400 have been completed and the remainder are being carried out. In conclusion, he referred to the Islamic Republic of Iran's concern for rural, remote, and deprived areas. He said: The above rural projects include the implementation of 75 rural power projects, 116 water projects, the construction of 69 elementary schools, 47 guidance schools, seven high schools, 129 public baths, 15 hygiene clinics, two treatment centers, and 42 rural roads. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 30 Jan 85 p 3] 9310

INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—On the fifth day of the ten-day Days of God Fajr observances, the West Azarbaijan province industrial and production self-sufficiency exposition opened at the Li'a high school auditorium of Urmia, attended by the Governor-General of this province. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, this exposition was organized through the efforts of administrative and revolutionary organizations and groups. On display were examples of agricultural products, the manner of carrying out the vineyard reform project, tobacco products, items manufactured by technicians in the Urmia hand industries and wood craft factory, examples of handicrafts by boy and girl students in the Kad project, various hand-woven items, inventions and innovations by metallurgical, electrical, mold-making, and foundry students, products from mines, reconstruction crusade development projects, industrial sector products, machinery by the reconstruction crusade rural hand industries, including ceramics, the implementation of the project for domestic poultry and meat, products from the companies and factories affiliated with the foundation of the oppressed, and companies affiliated with the center for expanding production and development services. According to the same report, a culture and art booth was also on display by the Central Office of Islamic Guidance and the gendarmerie political ideology section, as well as various art and production projects. The exposition will be open to the public until the end of the Fajr observances. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 7 Feb 85 pp 1,5] 9310

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